

JPRS-UPA-89-035  
23 MAY 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-035

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23 MAY 1989

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**GSSR Cadres Official Describes Changes in Party Apparatus**

18300564 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
7 Apr 89 p 2

[Gruzinform interview with P.P. Chkhaidze, head of the Department of Organizational-Party and Cadre work, Georgian Communist Party Central Committee: "What's New in the Party Apparatus?"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] An important stage in implementing the directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference designed to enhance the vanguard role of the party and implement political reform is the reorganization of the apparatus of party committees. What are the characteristics of this reorganization in the republic? How does it meet the need to strengthen political supervision [rukovodstvo]? To what extent is it consistent with the goal of the new stage of perestroika and renovation?

These and other questions determined the content of a conversation between the Gruzinform correspondent and P. P. Chkhaidze, head of the Department of Organizational-Party and Cadre Work in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and a non-voting member of the Central Committee Buro.

[Chkhaidze] The new structure of the apparatus of the Central Committee and the party committees of the republic has been worked out in accordance with the provisions stemming from the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the decisions of the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On Reorganizing the Apparatus of Local Party Organs."

Of paramount importance here is the fact that the reorganization calls for a division of functions between the party and the organs of Soviet rule and administration. The party is doing away with command-administrative methods and with the supplanting of state and economic organs. In turn, the role and responsibility of the soviets and organs of administration are being enhanced.

[Gruzinform] What has been the starting point of the reorganization of the party apparatus in our republic?

[Chkhaidze] It started with the Central Committee plenum that was held in November of last year. After the appropriate decisions were made at the plenum, the sectorial departments in the party committees were abolished. Moreover, the whole emphasis has been shifted to those subunits which carry out the main tasks of party work. These include organizational-party, cadre, and ideological work, the mapping of strategies of social-economic development, and monitoring of its implementation. In short, we have started on a course of strengthening political methods of work.

At the same time, considering the importance of coping with the food problem as well as tasks of shaping a socialist state of law, it was deemed advisable to have agrarian and state-legal departments on the oblast and republic levels. As in a number of other party committees of the country, we have also retained a department of defense industry, but its functions and structure have been changed.

It should be noted that in all this work the Central Committee leadership has proceeded on the basis of the importance of building up the apparatus with competent cadres, dedicated advocates of perestroika who are capable of reorienting themselves toward political methods of work.

[Gruzinform] What is the essence of these methods?

[Chkhaidze] The idea behind them is to restore to the party the role of political vanguard of society. This means dealing with the tasks that face us by purely political means, enhancing the involvement, initiative, and responsibility of the appropriate organs and their leaders with respect to the tasks assigned to them. We are fundamentally restructuring our style of work with people. An object of special concern today is the study of the practice of party work under the new conditions, the dissemination of advanced experience, and in-depth analysis of processes taking place in political, social-economic, and spiritual/intellectual life. Our attention is now focused on strengthening links with the masses and shaping people's active and uncompromising attitudes toward phenomena which hinder the cause of perestroika.

[Gruzinform] Specifically, what does the new structure of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and its apparatus look like?

[Chkhaidze] Instead of the 17 departments we had before, there are now eight, namely: the Department of Organizational-Party and Cadre Work (directly responsible for overseeing party organizations and their leadership organs; for fostering the restructuring of the style and methods of their work on democratic principles; for instituting political approaches in the work; for helping party committees in their work with cadres; also for maintaining constant links with the organs of state authority, the trade unions, the Komsomol, people's control, monitoring of responses to critical remarks, and so on). The Ideological Department (responsible for carrying out the party's directives having to do with ideological work, propaganda, and elucidation of the significance of Marxist-Leninist theory at the present stage of social development; for restructuring the political-educational activities of the party committees; for adopting scientific developments and recommendations in practical social-political life and the ideological activities of the republic's party organizations). The Social-Economic Department (responsible for carrying out the



party's directives with respect to social-economic development, coordinated efforts on the part of party, soviet, and economic organs in dealing with priority tasks in boosting production effectiveness, improving the structure of the national economy, and so on). And the Agrarian, State-Legal, Defense Industry, General, and Business Affairs departments.

The number of sectors [sektory] in the Central Committee has been reduced from 21 to 15.

There are other changes as well. For example, in order to provide better aid to local party organizations, the staffs of the Central Committee as well as party obkoms have introduced posts of responsible organizers in the composition of the departments of organizational-party and cadre work. These responsible organizers [otvetorganizatory] work with assigned oblast, city, and rayon party organizations, analyze their work, and provide them every kind of aid in carrying out party decisions. Within the Central Committee departments we also have consultants who are responsible for working on urgent problems and promising lines of endeavor and tasks with respect to perfecting party-political work. Another new development is the introduction of several posts of inspectors [inspektory] on the staffs of the Central Committee and the obkoms. A group of inspectors is working under the direct supervision of the secretariats of the party committees.

We have set up permanent commissions for purposes of carrying out the directives of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, for collegial discussion, and for making decisions. I will list them. There is the commission on questions of organizational-party and cadre work (D. I. Patiashvili, chairman); the commission on ideological work (N. A. Popkhadze); the commission on social-economic development (B. V. Nikolskiy); the commission on the development of the agroindustrial complex (N. A. Chitanava); and the commission on carrying out legal policies (G. A. Anchabadze). The commissions study problems within their jurisdiction and provide the Central Committee and its Buro with proposals on perfecting the activities of the party organizations and carrying out the party's political directives; they conduct preliminary studies of the theoretical and practical aspects of social-economic, legal, ideological, intra-party, and cadre problems to be submitted for discussion at party congresses, conferences, plenums, and Buro meetings. Throughout, they interact closely with the various departments of the Central Committee involved in carrying out the commissions' instructions and ensure the implementation of the recommendations they have adopted at their meetings.

[Gruzinform] In addition to the Central Committee and the party obkoms, changes have also taken place in the structure of the apparatus of the gorkoms and raykoms....

[Chkheidze] These units have abolished the industrial-transport and agricultural—that is, the sectorial—departments. As a result, the organizational and ideological departments have been made stronger. The Tbilisi, Kutaisi, and Rustavi gorkoms have set up departments of social-economic development. The first two of these gorkoms, which include rayon divisions, have retained the general departments; the other party committees have replaced them with business sectors [sektora deloproizvodstva].

[Gruzinform] What is the extent of reductions in force in the apparatus of the party committees?

[Chkheidze] As a result of the reorganization, the apparatus of the Central Committee has been reduced by 30 percent, that of the obkoms has been reduced by 11 percent, and that of gorkoms having rayon divisions has been reduced by 12 percent.

**Georgian Paper Criticizes Central Press Coverage of 9 Apr Events**  
*18300577 Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian*  
*27 Apr 89 pp 4-5*

[Article by Special Correspondent Besik Urigashvili: "Public Opinion and the April Myth-Makers: A View from Moscow on the Tragic Events in Tbilisi"]

[Text] The purpose of my business trip to Moscow was the press conference of people's deputies from the USSR Cinematographers' Society, who had visited Tbilisi on an official inquiry by Eldar Shengelaya; I also wanted to attend a session of the Moscow Tribune Club which was to be held the day after the press conference, where one of the topics of discussion was also the tragedy in Tbilisi.

But the first thing I did was to set out for Pushkin Square, right from the airport. By that time I already knew that an issue of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI had appeared, with materials devoted to the carnage in Tbilisi. I also knew that in this very newspaper (and by the logic of things, it had to be so) a breakdown in glasnost occurred. Although the issue was published without the censor's stamp, which, translated into everyday language means—the official authorities did not want to have anything to do with the contents of the issue; but nevertheless, the appearance of the newspaper with these notices was of itself very, very significant. From the very first day, the central press had stubbornly attempted to cultivate the myth that the events in Tbilisi—were altogether and completely on the conscience of the extremists, who were by that time on the verge of overthrowing the Georgian government and seizing power. And the means of halting the meeting—was a necessary measure of self-defense on the part of the authorities. And even after several republic leaders went into retirement, thereby taking upon themselves at least a part of the blame—if only moral responsibility for what took place—the press continued to stubbornly serve up the same model of dispensing information. One

got the feeling that the reporting from Tbilisi, which appeared in all the newspapers, was guided by the hand of a single editor. There were "extremists" and "hooligan elements" everywhere, and the accent was on the injuries to the soldiers—and not a word about the barbaric methods of halting the meeting, which was of an exclusively peaceful nature. And of course, you see, the part about the combat-engineer shovels and the gas was mentioned exclusively in the sense that the testimony on their use was—crude fabrications of the enemies. As if there were not a thousand witnesses to this. An estimate is understandable: eye-witnesses are eye-witnesses, but millions of people in the Ukraine and in Central Asia; in the Baltic and Karelia; in Kostroma and Novosibirsk, should know precisely what the "truth" is. So that, God forbid, no doubts would creep into anyone's mind about the infallibility of the decision of the ruling organs.

You can imagine what they're saying in the provinces, if even in Moscow, on public transportation, in queues and in other places known to our people where legally-sanctioned crowds can gather, all the conversations could be reduced to, "Well, the Georgians have gotten all worked up; they fell upon some unlucky soldiers, and got what was coming to them. After all, the soldiers had to defend themselves."

And here I am at Pushkin Square. In front of the combined editorial offices of the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, the latest issue is displayed. Most of the people are gathered right where the fourth and fifth pages are hung—the story about the events in Tbilisi. The people are shaking their heads as they read; some leave immediately without saying anything; others gather in groups to discuss what they have read. Quarrels break out, and sometimes the people shout themselves hoarse. If one leaves out certain insignificant details, the general idea can be broken down quite accurately. Regardless of whether one accepts the substance of the Tbilisi meeting itself or not, the attitude toward the actions of the soldiers and the republic authorities was extremely negative. It was noted that in the light of this objective information, many are beginning to look at those tragic events in a new way. Words of reproach were heard with respect to the other newspapers. And what is especially important, it has become clear to many people that there are no anti-Russian feelings in Georgia; neither at present, in spite of the fact that the efforts of the central mass-information media have created all the prerequisites for it—nor were there any before; and that the meeting at the Government House was not of an anti-Russian nature. Later, at the press-conference at the USSR Cinematographers' Society, Lana Gogoberidze stated precisely this: "Of course MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has done a great thing, and we thank them for it. But it is nevertheless a rather elite newspaper; it is not available to the ordinary reader. And we, the representatives of the public, must strive to ensure that the whole truth about the events in Tbilisi is expressed in those newspapers with a circulation of millions. Only then will our sense of fairness be satisfied." And in fact, every

rational person can understand that the 300,000 issues of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI are incapable of penetrating the thick wall of myths erected by someone's skillful hands between the truth and the earnest desire of millions of people to know that very truth (For the sake of fairness, it must be said that several days later, an honest report was published in NEDEL'YA.)

### All the Guilty Must Be Punished

The basic leit-motiv of all the speeches at the press-conference held at the USSR Cinematographers' Society on 21 April can be reduced to this very phrase. We shall not dwell in detail on all the speeches, since Gagik Karapetyan, a correspondent for the weekly NEDEL'YA, phoned in a rather detailed report on them to VECHERNIY TBILISI, which the editors published on the following day, 22 April. I will merely say that the very flower of Moscow cinematographers and the public were in attendance. People came from other cities as well, including Leningrad and Minsk. And there were many journalists, both Soviet and foreign.

I shall dwell in detail only on this: Right after the showing of the video film, Eldar Shengelaya took the floor. And as if setting the emotional tone for the entire press conference from the very beginning, said: "The idea of Georgian sovereignty and the creation of a Georgian state has always dwelt in the Georgian people. And it probably could not be otherwise. A people who had established their first state formation several centuries before the birth of Christ; which throughout their entire tragic history had struggled for national independence, can never give up these aspirations. It is impossible to turn such a people into Mankurts. It is now no longer a secret to anyone that there never was any "voluntary annexation" of Georgia into Russia. Those who have doubts on this may read the Goergievskiy Treaty. There was a request by Georgia for patronage on the part of Russia, with whom they shared the same faith. But the treaty was grossly violated as early as the year 1801, when Georgia was forcibly brought into the state structure of Russia. And throughout the 19th century, the national-liberation movement in Georgia set its goal as liberation from dependence. But all progressive people in Georgia understood that the path for this liberation lay through Russia and together with Russia. The sources for the events which took place in Georgia must be sought in this very course of knowledge. I repeat once again: the aspiration for independence and sovereignty is ineradicable in the people. But how to achieve this goal—is another matter. Here one can argue, discuss and try to convince. And perestroika and the democratization of our lives have given us just such an opportunity. But the arguments which the authorities have presented against the peaceful demonstrators (even if they were making demands which had very little to do with reality) at the Government House early on the morning of 9 April, can be considered nothing less than a subversion of the policy of perestroika. This is not only a tragedy for the Georgians: this is a tragedy for all Soviet people. Therefore, we must have unity on the

main point, that such events must not be repeated anywhere, never. And for this, we must have complete glasnost, and punishment of all the guilty parties, no matter what positions they held."

The whole spirit of the press-conference and its emotional mood were permeated by the striving for justice; and at times it seemed that everyone would take his own stand. It could not be that after such passionate speeches, such convincing facts and the unanimous upsurge in the hall, that nothing had changed in the outer world, outside the hall. But after going out onto the street, we found ourselves among people who had not even heard about this press conference; and I once again found that the world had not turned over. Everywhere there were the same conversations, and the lack of understanding of what actually had occurred. Myths have a staggering power. On the whole the people did not try to analyze them or take a critical approach to them. They simply accept them on faith. Because it's more comfortable that way; because that is how we were brought up. We were brought up on millions upon millions of myths that had been circulated. And now, in our days, on the verge of the fourth year of perestroika, when the process of democratization of society would appear to be irreversible—once again an extremely successful attempt has been undertaken to reanimate the system of making total fools of us all. An attempt which has shown us all, that the muscles of reaction are still flexed very tightly, and that it stops at nothing—not even at murder of completely innocent people.

#### At the MOSCOW TRIBUNE

First of all, a few words about the "Tribune" itself. This is a unique club for progressive Moscow intelligentsia, established in the likeness of the "Rimskiy Club." It commenced to function quite recently. Meetings of Moscow Tribune are held every Saturday, from 10:00 AM to 5:00 PM, in the House of Scholars on Kropotkinskaya St., where the very "hottest" events of the current political situation in the country are discussed. It must be said that Moscow Tribune enjoys colossal prestige among the intelligentsia. No doubt this is brought about by the names which are represented here—Sakharov, Batkin, Afanasyev, Popov, Karyakin, Selyunin...

On that day, 22 April, the main topic at Tribune was the events in Tbilisi. And once again close-up videos were shown of that bloody night. And once again Eldar Shengelaya, Rezo Chkheidze, Vakhushti Kotetishvili and Koba Imedashvili told their detailed stories. The emotional speech by Rezo Chkheidze, who came to Tribune straight from the airport, is etched in my memory: "Help us," he said. "Help us save the children. You see, you still are not aware that every day there are more and more cases of poisoning. The doctors do not know how to combat it. I demand—No, we all demand—that the soldiers tell us finally, what the antidote is. After all, what they are doing is—inhuman. Let them give us the medicine. I don't know how I can live any more..."

And the essence of what was said in all the speeches was most characteristically expressed in the speech by the writer, Yuri Karyakin: "The forces of the past are waging the battle not for life, but for death. Tbilisi is not only a tragedy—Tbilisi is our domestic Afghanistan. One has to be completely blind in order to believe the story about the coincidence of certain random circumstances, which led to the perishing of the people. This was an act of punishment—a calculated conspiracy. And in the name of the salvation of our perestroika, in the name of our future, we must do everything possible and impossible, to expose all the links in the chain which led to 9 April. We must clarify and concretize all the circumstances: who phoned whom; who gave the command; and where those 'apparitions' appeared from, those sowers of death... All the People's Deputies, all the members of Moscow Tribune must, at the very first Congress of People's Deputies, make an inquire about these special units [spetschast]. What kind of troops are these, who are trained to murder their fellow-countrymen; how are they paid; who is training them and how? Military and state secrets do not count here. The Deputies, and not only the Deputies, have the right to know the whole truth.

"For us, the events in Tbilisi represent—the cruelest reminder of the real disposition of power in the country."

It turned out that during the viewing of the video tapes I found myself sitting in the chair next to Andrey Dmitrievich Sakharov. After the lights had been turned on, I asked the academician for a brief interview:

"No, right now I cannot say anything. This is all horrible, monstrous. I shall go to Tbilisi immediately. And I shall speak about this at the Congress of People's Deputies. I shall do everything in my power, that the truth be told, and the guilty parties—be punished."

#### Does the Myth-Making Continue to this Day?...

The following day, 23 April, I open the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. On the last page, in a feuilleton, my attention is drawn to material from S. Karkhanin, a special correspondent from a Tbilisi newspaper. The material had a very interesting headline: "Greater Wisdom." I tell you frankly, that I did not become wiser from reading that article. But on the other hand, it did inspire certain thoughts. The material proved once again, that the myth-making is still going on. In order not to inundate the reader in a lengthy re-telling, I will cite a few quotations and will permit myself to comment upon them.

"The spontaneous meeting continued uninterruptedly for several days. Slogans were flapping over the heads of the crowd, 'Russians, Clear Out! Go home!', written for some reason in English; and calls for violence were heard."



It is staggering, how lightly the author distorts the facts, in passing. On the other hand, it is understandable. You see, his distortions are for purposes calculated to cause a certain reaction. Yes, there actually was a slogan in the English language. But it was hardly flapping in the wind; it was fastened to the front of the Government House. And what is most important, what was written on it was, "Russian Occupiers, Clear Out and Go Home!" And that is, as they say, two different things; and to switch the accent from the word "occupiers" to the word "Russians" means consciously aggravating inter-ethnic relations. Incidentally, that slogan was subsequently taken down by those holding the meeting themselves. It is understandable that the slogan is radical, and unacceptable; but why should it be distorted, switching everything from the political to an exclusively nationalist plane?

And a second quotation: "...Since the tragedy provocative rumors have been going around, incendiary proclamations and threats, stirring up the civilians against the military, and Georgians against Russians."

There was an emotional outburst; there was the pain of loss; and there was fear for the future, and an understanding of the necessity for stabilizing the situation. But this... How can one approve of such a thing, suggesting to millions of newspaper readers, that the punishment was what they had coming to them? And all this under pharisaical discussions about internationalism. Georgian soil has always been the native land of many nationalities. Georgians have been living peacefully with Russians, and will continue to do so.

It also grates upon one that the author constructed his material, speculating on the memory of the of the Tbilisi schoolgirl who died, Natya "Bashalenshvili," but he didn't even manage to spell her name right—Bashelishvili.

The very fact of this publication in a newspaper, which enjoys enormous prestige in Russia, is very alarming. After all, everyone remembers the story of the "manifesto of Nina Andreeva," which left the entire society in a state of shock for a month. At that time it was possible to master the "principles," but could one do that now?

And there's more. The broadcast, "Echo of Events," showed just that fragment of video-tape in which a guy, overcome by grief, is flailing away at the armor on a BTR [armored personnel carrier] with a flagstaff. And the announcer's text: "It's a pity this film cannot be shown in its entirety; because it is documentary, and consequently—true." A pity. It's a pity for us too. But on whom does this depend? On you and me?

The myth-making continues. The central press has to this day remained silent about the dozens of people poisoned, which is still coming to light today. Actually, why get the people all excited? But all of a sudden, the

people will give it some thought, that something is not right. And suddenly the "truth at the last instance" will seem to them as a marked deck of cards in the hands of a card-sharp.

But my hopes are strengthened by the decisiveness of many of the people whom I met in Moscow, that justice will be achieved. And these people are—the conscience of our perestroyka. I believe, that the guilty will be punished; I cannot but believe in that. I also believe, that the new myth-makers—for whom nothing in this wide world is worth getting steamed up about; it is just a trifle to them, and they calmly wash their hands of it—will also receive their share of public contempt.

(The author has donated the honorarium for this material to the 9 April Charity Fund.)

#### **Patiashvili Addresses Supreme Soviet on Abkhaz Events**

18300563 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
30 Mar 89 pp 1-2

[Gruzinform report: "Session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Excerpts] The extraordinary 11th Session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, was held in the republic's Supreme Soviet Assembly Hall on 29 March. [passage omitted]

Deputy G. G. Chogovadze, rector of the Georgian V. I. Lenin Polytechnical Institute, asked for the floor. He inquired about the recent events in Abkhazia, which are very disturbing to the students and society at large in the republic. This question was also the subject of deputies' written notes to the presidium of the session.

Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary and Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Member D. I. Patiashvili gave a report in response to the deputies' inquiry.

Esteemed comrades deputies!

The Georgian public, the working class, the intelligentsia, and working people of all nationalities in the republic are seriously concerned about possible complications in the interethnic situation in Abkhazia and the republic as a whole.

Letters and telegrams that have been coming in to the CPSU Central Committee, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and newspaper and television editors the past few days contain appeals to take every measure to ensure that nothing beclouds the centuries-old friendship of the Georgian, Abkhazian, and other peoples

living in the republic, that all disputable issues are resolved openly, objectively, on a democratic basis, under conditions of good will, constructive dialogue, and mutual respect.

What are the events in the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic that have caused this concern?

As many already know, a meeting consisting of many thousands of representatives of the Abkhazian population was held on 18 March in the village of Lykhny, Gudauta Rayon, at the initiative of the People's Front of Abkhazia. The agenda dealt with the issue of changing the status of the Abkhazian SSR. It was reported that a letter had been prepared, addressed to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev and USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N. I. Ryzhkov, also to officials of a number of all-union scientific centers.

The message states, in particular, that Abkhazia is being torn apart by an extended crisis of interethnic relations, that the autonomous republic is on the verge of ethnic catastrophe, that the Abkhazian people's statehood is on the decline, and that the demographic situation has been subjected to artificial changes for decades. The menshevik government of Georgia, and later Beriya, carried out a policy of terror there, repressing not only cadres but also the Abkhazian language, history, and culture, implanting Georgian everywhere, including in the sphere of toponymics.

From this the authors of the message conclude that further political, economic, and cultural development of the Abkhazian people are possible only by changing the status of the Abkhazian ASSR. Several members of the Buro attending the meeting, including Abkhazian Obkom First Secretary B. Adleyba, signed the document.

On Saturday 25 March, representatives of the Georgian population held a response rally in Sukhumi, participated in by members of informal associations, including persons from Tbilisi and nearby rayons. Some of the statements made there, unfortunately, were equally unacceptable.

The party and soviet aktiv as well as administrative organs did everything possible to prevent a confrontation. There was a real danger of that. Somewhat more calm was a sanctioned rally in Gali, in which 12,000 people took part.

All of this has greatly complicated the political situation in the republic, in particular Tbilisi. Last Saturday, as is well known, a rally was held in Victory Park, a procession down Rustaveli Prospekt, and a demonstration in front of Government House.

These events were the logical culmination of everything that has taken place in recent months; they were not unexpected to any of us. A letter which was addressed to

the 19th Party Conference in May of last year was published in several issues of the Gudauta Rayon newspaper BZYB in February of this year. In November 1988, at a gathering of some members of the Abkhazian intelligentsia at the Abkhazian ASSR Council of Ministers, some of the statements that were made were distinguished by tendentiousness. Nevertheless, they were given official support in the pages of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ABKHAZIYA. There were other incidents. Ill-considered, unacceptable statements were also made in Tbilisi.

Unfortunately, none of this was given the necessary party evaluation, although the need for it was obvious. In a few cases, moreover, certain leaders of Abkhazia acted counter to decisions which had been collectively arrived at. This not only constitutes a violation of party discipline and ethics but also a deviation from principled political positions.

Late last year, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee held a discussion of the course of implementation of party and government decrees concerning the Abkhazian ASSR. Positive results and constructive tendencies were noted, but also obstacles still tending to hinder further progress. This matter was discussed at a plenum of the Abkhazian Obkom.

Georgian Communist Party Central Committee secretaries and Buro members have gone to Abkhazia several times lately. They met with the working people, intelligentsia, young people, and the party and soviet aktiv. Principled, frank discussions have been held with the leaders of the obkom, the Council of Ministers, the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and ideological services. There have been warnings, comradely advice, requests, and principled demands. There have also been several meetings with representatives of the intelligentsia and young people in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. As has been reported in the press, questions of toponymics have been discussed in the Georgian Academy of Sciences. In short, the Central Committee has kept track of the development of events. We have tried to defuse the situation and have undertaken a number of serious steps to do so, but unfortunately we have not managed to avoid complications in the situation.

There are both objective and subjective factors at work. An in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the situation, taking account of recent events and publications, is forthcoming. It will take a certain amount of time. Considered and substantiated conclusions will be drawn later, because haste in this matter would constitute a disservice.

It is true that we have already discussed this matter at meetings of the Buro of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. The first principled assessments are known to you and to the public at large. They were published in the press and broadcast on television.

We have stated most definitely our negative reaction to the demands made by some representatives of the Abkhazian population in the autonomous republic, primarily because these demands are in conflict with the spirit of the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

We believe that the proposal to change the status of the Abkhazian ASSR is unacceptable and is inconsistent with the interests of the region's social-economic and cultural development, runs counter to the USSR and Georgian SSR constitutions, the legal principles of national-state construction in the USSR, and historical traditions, and does not take account of the actual political situation or the opinions of the non-Abkhazian portion of the population of the autonomous republic, which today constitutes the majority of the population. The proposal is also unacceptable to the working people of the whole Georgian SSR, of which Abkhazia is a component as an autonomous republic.

The Buro of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee believes that any attempts—from whomever they may come—to resolve complex political issues touching upon the interests of the whole multi-national population of the Georgian SSR, by methods of forcible pressure on party and soviet organs, at rallies, unorganized gatherings, and in the course of unsanctioned processions and demonstrations, are impermissible.

The only way to formulate and resolve urgent problems of social-political life is to engage in detailed, open, democratic discussion, constructive dialogue on a constitutional basis, in the spirit of realism and mutual respect. The republic's political leadership is holding unswervingly to these principles and methods. It was on the basis of these principled postulates that the decision was made to present this report at the present session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, although the agenda, as you all know, did not include dealing with this matter. This decision is also in accordance with the desires of the deputies. We believe, incidentally, that there is no need to engage in extensive debate at this time.

We would probably be remiss if we did not say that a number of issues broached in the so-called "Abkhazian Letter" as well as the message drafted at the gathering in the village of Lykhny, are justified. We have to agree that the policies of the tsarist autocracy and the menshevik government toward the Abkhazian people, also the depredations of Stalin and Beriia, inflicted innumerable disasters on Abkhazia, just as they did on Georgia. But we cannot consent to attempts to blame the Georgian people for this, to automatically transpose to today the fallacious principles that prevailed in the past. We have to agree that a great many problems of the social-economic and cultural development of Abkhazia have yet to be resolved. But have problems of that sort developed there alone? We cannot go along with it when the considerable organizational efforts of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's

government, and the Abkhazian party organization itself, are ignored and passed over in complete silence, also the genuine achievements that have been made in the development of the economy, social sphere, and culture of Abkhazia—which, of course, did not come about by themselves. It is wrong to project unresolved social and economic problems onto the sphere of ethnic relations and use this as grounds for demanding a change in the status of the autonomous republic.

We cannot approve the fact that certain ministries and departments of the republic, also the creative unions, have sometimes paid inadequate attention to the problems of Abkhazia. At the same time, we cannot go along with the allegation that in respect to a number of political, economic, legal, cultural, and other rights Abkhazia is on par with city and rayon administrative-territorial units.

We do agree that, despite some progress, the question of place names has dragged on too long. Never in world experience, however, has there been a case in which failure to resolve questions of toponymics has given rise to the demand to form a new political unit. It leads one to think that this is nothing but one more pretext. And pretexts can always be found if desired.

As far as the problem of toponymics goes, we have emphasized more than once that it requires more detailed consideration from us; the problem cannot be solved by waving a magic wand. The question of what to call some place is not one to be decided in haste. For this reason, it requires scrupulous preparatory work on the part of specialists of the appropriate profile on both sides, a stage-by-stage decision taking account of all circumstances. Let us be frank: This work has a long way to go yet. We must not repeat the mistakes of the past—the 1940s and early 1950s; we must consider all existing letters and documents and discuss particular geographic names as part of a complex with other place names of the region.

Naturally, this effort must be conducted on a solid scientific foundation, utilizing the findings of research by highly qualified specialists, and, of course, totally ruling out bias and subjectivism.

With this in mind, as is known, the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has set up a special commission which includes representatives of Abkhazia and other regions. The commission's work must be conducted openly; that is an indispensable condition.

We cannot approve of the fact that certain articles in republic newspapers have been quite ill-considered in character, and that untactful statements have been made. We have discussed these, along with other errors by our journalists, in the Buro of the Central Committee. Let us be frank, however: This is happening with many these days; the oblast newspapers are not immune to it



either. But should mistakes of this sort by individual authors and editors be deemed an awakening of chauvinist tendencies? And should the entire Georgian nation be accused of it?

It is also true that under tsarism and later—until the 1950s—Abkhazia experienced mechanical population growth and the giveaway [razdacha] of sections of land, but why draw tendentious conclusions from this? I should like to state most definitely that in the past 25 to 30 years there has been no significant resettlement of people from other regions of the republic in Abkhazia. The rates of natural increase in the Abkhazian and Georgian populations in the autonomous republic have remained approximately equal since 1959. From 1959 to 1970, for example, the Abkhazian population rose by 26.3 percent while the Georgian population rose by 26.1 percent. From 1970 to 1979 the respective figures were 7.3 and 6.7 percent.

The demographic situation in Abkhazia needs to be improved, but a great deal depends on the Abkhazian comrades themselves, soviet, economic, and health care organs, also compliance with passport regulations. Enforcement is needed in that regard.

According to data of the Ochamchira Rayon Militia Department, for example, Georgians made up only 20 percent of persons moving in from other cities and rayons of Georgia, also other union republics, and obtaining residency status. Could the shortage of labor resources in Ochamchira Rayon really be so bad that it was necessary to enlarge them by bringing in people from Krasnoyarsk Kray and from Kemerovo, Smolensk, Moscow, Donetsk, Chelyabinsk, Tyumen, Dnepropetrovsk, Tomsk, Amur, and other oblasts, and from Leningrad, Bukhara, Sverdlovsk, and other cities? Moreover, residence permits are being issued at the request of farm and organization officials and in accordance with resolutions of rayon militia department officials.

Between 1983 and 1988, 380 persons moved to Tkvarcheli from other regions of the republic, while 1616 moved there from other republics.

Perhaps rayon officials and scientists in the autonomous republic ought to take a closer look at how mechanical migration is taking place, and whose fault it is; perhaps they should determine who is issuing residence permits, and whether the construction of resort establishments by all-union organizations and departments is being done properly. Perhaps they ought to review the concept of the autonomous republic's social-economic development in terms of assuring progress primarily on the basis of local labor resources.

One cannot help noticing, in addition, that the gathering in Lykhny was held immediately prior to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum devoted to improving interethnic relations, and also on the eve of elections of people's deputies to the USSR. Does this step not

constitute a striving on the part of its organizers to exert a certain amount of pressure on the organs of authority and to put a brake on positive processes of democratic renovation taking place in the republic and the country?

In short, one may or may not agree, as well, with certain statements made at the gathering in Lykhny and in the so-called "Abkhazian Letter" which have nothing in common with interethnic relations. But the demand to change the status of the autonomous republic is, for all that, categorically unacceptable.

There is talk about a desire to restore the status of Abkhazia as it was under V. I. Lenin. Let us refer to that period. On 16 December 1921, a treaty of alliance was concluded between Georgia and Abkhazia in Tbilisi.

The creation of the Abkhazian SSR at that time was dictated by the necessity of eradicating all the ethnic strife and mistrust that had been sown between the fraternal peoples by the mensheviks.

As far back as 21 December 1921, the editorial in the newspaper GOLOS ABKHAZII noted that Soviet Abkhazia, with its small territory and population, "cannot continue a separate and independent existence."

Efrem Eshba, the eminent party worker and statesman, had high praise for the treaty. "We must acknowledge," he wrote, "that we are really entering a new phase of our state and social life in 1922."

The First Georgian Congress of Soviets, which ratified the Georgian SSR Constitution, opened on 25 February 1922. The Constitution stipulated that the Abkhazian SSR was joining the Georgian SSR on the basis of a special treaty of alliance, that Abkhazia, through Georgia, constituted a part of the Transcaucasian SFSR and, through the latter, the USSR.

Back when Lenin was alive, therefore, the Abkhazian SSR actually enjoyed the rights of an autonomous republic.

"To the Abkhazian peasant there is no such thing as a nationality question in regard to the Georgian people, unless it be artificially instigated." Today these words by Nestor Lakoba, the eminent statesman and party figure, are remembered with special force. He stated: "Historical and economic conditions require that Georgia and Abkhazia constitute a unified whole, in order that the working masses of these two peoples might be welded firmly together."

These words were also stated at the First Abkhazian Congress of Soviets in 1922. Four years later, Nestor Lakoba said: "From the very beginning of the formation of Soviet rule, there have been those who have not quite grasped the true state of affairs, as well as those among our adversaries, who are always structuring their tactics

oriented toward wrecking the authority of the Republic of Abkhazia as follows: 'Should Abkhazia so desire, it will quit Georgia; should it so desire, it will remain with Georgia....'

"Does this have any foundation?" asks Comrade Lakoba, and himself answers as follows:

"In order that there may be no misunderstandings, we must state most definitely that Abkhazia cannot quit Georgia, does not wish to and is not about to.... For the laboring masses of Abkhazia the question is settled once and for all—the destiny of Abkhazia and Georgia is one."

In accordance with the resolution of the Sixth Abkhazian Congress of Soviets, the Sixth All-Georgian Congress of Soviets held on 19 February 1931 passed the resolution to admit Abkhazia as a constituent of the Georgian SSR with the status of an autonomous republic.

Now, the legal side of the question.

The question of redistributing territories of a sovereign union republic is essentially a legal one—I repeat, specifically a legal question.

The Abkhazian comrades have broached the question of redistributing territory of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic—yes, territory, because separating the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic from Georgia—in whatever form it may take (whether in the form of a union or autonomous republic)—entails removing a certain amount of territory from the Georgian SSR. The Abkhazian comrades have adduced many arguments to substantiate their intent, but they cannot cite a single legal argument, because any legal norm to back up such a resolution of the question simply does not exist.

If we genuinely wish to create a state of law, let us resort more frequently to juridical norms and traditions, including in cases where we have formerly been guided by emotions alone.

In the circumstances that have now developed in the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic in connection with demands and proposals concerning a change in the status of Abkhazia, I think it would be good to refer to the materials of a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which was held on 18 July of last year and dealt with the situation in and around Nagornyy Karabakh. Incidentally, all the speeches at the meeting, and the decisions that were made, were published in the press, and every one of us can refer to them and think about what was said there.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev called that meeting historic, primarily because its purpose was to find a way to resolve an extremely urgent issue of vital importance to our whole multi-national state, to the whole process of perestroika and democratization.

This is what M. S. Gorbachev said: "We must now find an answer to this question which will set a precedent in resolving many other issues that have arisen in the sphere of ethnic relations."

It seems to me that such an answer was found, in particular as regards changing the status and boundaries of autonomous formations.

Otherwise, the supreme organ of authority in the country or republic would have to be convening all the time—but it cannot and must not do so—in order to argue endlessly against the anticonstitutionality of this or that proposal by particular groups of citizens.

Is such a thing tolerable? Is it the constitutional way? It would not only tend to inflame passions and emotions but would also divert us away from dealing with truly vital problems. The question was formulated correctly at the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: There is no necessity of replacing one braking mechanism with another.

The prime task is not to revise national-state forms but to eliminate local vestiges of national and social injustice and deviations in the economy, the social sphere, culture, and ecology—in short, to set things right in our common home. This is what we all ought to be thinking about together; this should be the object of our talent, our reasoning, and our persistence to reach our goal.

I should like to repeat once more, and ask you to understand me correctly, that we are all deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet, and wherever we work—in an autonomous republic, in other regions, or in republic organs—we must be responsible for making this known to the voters. Although it was the party that initiated perestroika and the revision of outmoded dogmas and stereotypes, the party states firmly that there is no political, juridical, or economic justification for revising the present national-state structure. It is this path that is the correct one.

Today we cannot resolve a single issue or problem, or do anything, if, on the one hand, we ignore the interests of even the smallest ethnic group [natsiya] or, on the other hand, weaken the internationalist solidarity of the Soviet people. Any mechanical redrawing of territorial boundaries will inevitably infringe upon someone's interests and cause injustice to someone. For this reason, it is impossible to resolve all these issues with one stroke of the pen. That would lead to a dead end. Confirmation of that is seen in the case of Nagornyy Karabakh, the lessons of which should point us to the correct conclusions. On the fundamental issue, in short, everything is clear, and we must be guided primarily by the fact that the Constitution of the autonomous republic does not include an article giving it the right to secede freely from the union republic. We must also be guided by the fact that any union republic (Georgia in this case) is a sovereign Soviet socialist state and, in accordance with

Article 78 of the USSR Constitution, the territory of a union republic cannot be changed without its consent. An autonomous republic, on the other hand (Abkhazia in this case) is a constituent of a union republic and forms part of its territory.

However, even if some individual or group of persons should express an opinion concerning the advisability of raising this issue, even if the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Soviet should take a positive stance to such a formulation of the issue, according to constitutional norms the authority to decide it rests solely with the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR, a worthy constituent of which is the Abkhazian ASSR.

Hence, even theoretically—and at this point we are considering the theoretical aspect of the issue—without the consent of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet there cannot and will not be any separation or change in the borders of the Georgian SSR! The Constitution so stipulates. And those comrades who are whipping up public opinion will have to take that into account.

In the near future, as is well known, we will get right down to implementing the concept of the independence and expanded sovereign rights of the union republics. You are all well acquainted with the published draft of this document. It is proposed that the rights of the autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts will be considerably expanded, but of course this will not be done at the cost of restricting the rights of the union republics but, rather, by expanding their sovereignty. The appropriate legislation is being prepared. Consequently, any restrictions on the jurisdiction of the union republics with respect to sovereign rights within their territories are not anticipated. Every one of us, every inhabitant of our republic, must take this into account. Hence, there are no grounds for disquiet among our intelligentsia, our young people, or the working people of the republic.

And there is one more question, also theoretical—namely, according to that same Article 78 of the USSR Constitution, the borders between union republics can be changed only on the basis of bilateral agreement between the republics involved. Hence, even if we assume that a union republic agrees to allow an autonomous republic to secede from it, agreement is also required on the part of the union republic which the autonomous republic intends to join, and then the transaction must be approved by the country's highest organ of state authority—that is, the USSR Supreme Soviet. And the position of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on matters of this sort is well known.

As you can see, the issue which has been raised is devoid of juridical foundation and is inconsistent with constitutional norms.

Moreover, I must repeat, it is also inconsistent with the spirit of the All-Union Party Conference. Many of those present in this hall recall the atmosphere that prevailed at the conference, the fact that very difficult problems were tackled with difficulty but constructively. The reform of the political system—the profound, fundamental reform proposed by the party—must serve primarily to restore health to social life and one of its most important spheres—interethnic relations. We must have patience and work tirelessly to resolve all the problems life presents to us, proceeding on the basis of the strategic and principled line of the party. [passage omitted]

### **GSSR Daily's Coverage of Yakovlev Trip to Georgia**

#### **Patlashvili Speech to Party Aktiv**

18300480 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
28 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Work Conscientiously, Live Honestly. Meeting of the Republic Party Aktiv with CPSU CC Politburo Member and CPSU CC Secretary A. N. Yakovlev, CPSU Candidate for USSR people's deputy"]

[Text] The Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to the party and the Soviet people emphasizes that all the party's plans are designed to serve the interests of the people. Implementation of them will determine how life tomorrow will turn out, what the coming day will bring. And all of this is in the hands of the people themselves, whose labor, skills, social commitment, and public stance constitute the prerequisites of success.

This thought, which forms the foundation of the party's pre-election program, defines the essence and the content of the current election campaign to choose the people's deputies of the USSR. The people are the masters of their fate, and it is inseparably linked to perestroika, which must be defended and, in particular, must move vigorously and consistently forward.

Clear understanding of the goals and magnitude of the work that lies ahead suffused the 27 February meeting in Tbilisi between the republic's party aktiv and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee Secretary A. N. Yakovlev, the CPSU's candidate for people's deputy of the USSR.

The meeting was opened by Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary D. I. Patlashvili. He said:

"This moment of our meeting with the esteemed Aleksandr Nikolayevich is replete with significance. Let us speak frankly: Just two or three years ago hardly any of us could have imagined that changes in society could take place so rapidly and on such a broad scale. Perestroika has opened up vast reserves of social consciousness, creative forces, and social energy. Each day is a day



of new discoveries and, at the same time, new, complex questions and problems which require quick answers, reaction, and prompt and correct solutions.

"In this context, Aleksandr Nikolayevich's arrival in the republic and his contacts with the labor collectives, the representatives of our intelligentsia, and the party aktiv have made it possible to elucidate our party's democratic course better and in greater depth, attitudes toward processes taking place in society; they have made it possible to refine approaches to the resolution of many urgent tasks and to gain confidence and firmness. I say this without any exaggeration whatever, and I know that all comrades agree with this formulation of the matter. Be assured, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, that this is no mere tribute to stale tradition; it represents our sincere thoughts and feelings.

"I do not intend to minimize the complexity of the situation, especially in the last few days. And your presence, of course, has played a big role in settling it, helping us to act more judiciously, without excessive nervousness, from the standpoint of the new political thinking. It must be noted that objective processes today compel us party workers to review the style of our actions, rely increasingly on political methods of leadership, and learn to influence people via ideas, the heart and living words, rather than by directives. The actual practice of perestroika necessitates seeking new forms and methods of organizational and political work.

"The party's pre-election platform opens up new, broad opportunities for renovating our society, its political structures and economic mechanism, for revitalizing the social thinking of the working people. The republic party organization unanimously supports and endorses the party platform! We understand that the main task today is to determine the most rational methods of implementing it. As the party's candidate for people's deputy of the USSR, Aleksandr Nikolayevich has stated his position and his approaches in this regard during the course of meetings that have been held. The republic's working people and communists have been able to familiarize themselves with certain propositions through the press, television, and radio.

"It is a constructive position, one which is based on resolutely enhancing democracy, expanding glasnost, and overcoming authoritarianism and bureaucratism in all manifestations; it is a pluralism of opinions and viewpoints, the ability to learn from one's opponent and from life itself. Such a position is finding ever deeper resonance in the heart of every communist and our whole people. Incidentally, a selective quick-poll [ekspress-opros] which was conducted by our Center for the Study of Public Opinion after the broadcast of the videotape of the meeting with the intelligentsia showed that everyone, without exception, heartily endorsed the exchange of opinions.

"At the same time, the republic's communists and working people understand very well that it is important to endorse the party's platform not only with words but also with practical, material support. Allow me, then, comrades, to briefly and self-critically sketch the situation in the republic, its economy and ideological sphere. What is taking place here?

"Unfortunately, and this cannot be denied, turbulent processes in social life have sometimes brought it about that certain economic aspects have slipped from our field of vision. Yet this is the foundation of foundations of successful perestroika. I will not burden you with a lot of statistics, but various ministries, departments, and enterprises estimate that the volume of industrial output in January and February is expected to be below the plan. Specific tasks have been assigned to the various sectors, labor collectives, and party organizations in this regard. But there is something else that is no less alarming. The level of fulfillment of contract obligations has gone down compared with last year; the quality of goods has not been improving fast enough; a number of sectors still suffer from a difficult financial position; and there have been no changes in monetary circulation.

"What are the key points in the national economy? More thorough adoption of cost accounting and various forms of contracts; a turnaround in the social sphere; and, finally, a breakthrough in the implementation of the Food Program.

"The adoption of new methods of management is hampered more than anything else by formalism—to put it mildly, unreliable information. Coverage figures [tsifry okhvata] seem to be high, but they are not backed up by an appropriate rise in qualitative indicators and responsibility. Important indicators of the development of the social sphere are still not being met.

"Mismanagement and lack of organization are at work here. We still have managers who cling to the old approaches and are negligent toward people's requirements and needs—although, to be sure, they do not generally forget about their own personal interests. We are attempting to step up our upbringing work, and sometimes we make use of organizational solutions.

"There has been no major progress in the adoption of the lease contract in the countryside. Again, coverage indicators are solid, and there have been impressive examples of the effectiveness of the family contract and other types in all the rayons, the highlands in particular. But we are lagging badly behind with respect to many parameters of the agroindustrial complex. In our opinion, more attention needs to be paid to kolkhoz members' household plots; we need to be bolder in turning the land over to the peasants for unconditional use with full rights. We intend to submit a number of proposals at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

"Failure to resolve the above problems acts as a strong hindrance to perestroika and makes it difficult to improve the working people's standard of living and increase monetary circulation. In the first half of February alone, about 16 million rubles never made it to the bank. It is essential, clearly, to look into this matter very objectively, but so far the only help coming down from the all-union level concerning these problems has mostly been directive in character.

"We suffer from a conspicuous lack in the necessary culture and level of economic thinking in the republic. Some comrades call for independence only in their speeches; in practice they still demand the tried-and-true routines and take a wait-and-see position. Economic retraining of cadres has yet to reach the necessary level. We have not yet learned how to manage the cooperative movement effectively. Any good results in this are mostly due to preferential economic terms.

"An optimal work style for the party apparatus has yet to be worked out. After being reduced, the workload on personnel was mechanically increased, people paid less attention to specific collectives, and problem-oriented thinking has yet to take shape. Clearly, on this plane, there is a rich vein of reserves which we will systematically put into action

"Lately, as has been mentioned, ideological activities have been considerably revitalized, and the work of the ideological links has taken on practical orientation. But there have been some conspicuous aberrations. For example, one of the tasks of democratization, as we know, is to strengthen society's supervision over all economic and social-political processes and responsible officials. So far, however, the process of democratization has largely been proceeding in a one-sided manner. Elementary order and responsibility are frequently lacking precisely where we are most in need of genuine democracy and self-management: production.

"Speaking truthfully, we have yet to make full use of the advantages of democratization. We have not yet completely succeeded in activating and consolidating the healthy portion of society and getting it involved in these processes. We are vigorously seeking ways to channel social energies constructively.

"The main thing, clearly, is to enhance democratic culture, both our own and that of our opponents, the numerous informal associations. I must admit that the gene of authoritarianism is probably deeply ensconced, and we must get rid of it. But our opponents are no less lacking in democratism, discipline, and knowledge of the law. How can we justify it when certain persons put all their energies into the least appropriate channel—interethnic relations? Moreover, it manifests obvious political fallaciousness, lack of objectivity, and disrespect for the law. It is an attempt just to attract attention and, sometimes, outright provocation.

"Many associations are not acting vigorously enough in support of perestroika, in genuine defense of national interests. Yet the party's course of action in this regard creates the most favorable conditions for the work and enhanced independence of the national formations both in the economy and in matters of culture. We realize that it is unrealistic to wait until correct attitudes are formed by themselves. For this reason, party organs are taking the initiative. We have already drafted and submitted for public discussion state programs on language development and history; similar programs are also being prepared for other concerns.

"Decisions of this sort are cutting the ground out from under our opponents. We are convinced that taking the lead is a vital factor in the effectiveness of ideological influence. It should be emphasized that this approach has prevented certain people, despite all their efforts, from introducing elements of antagonism into interethnic relations in the republic. The people have simply not supported them. Solid, centuries-old ties and customs have also played a role. Moreover, certain persons have been compelled to restrain their fervor and make substantial correctives in certain of their openly nationalistic slogans. Meanwhile, specific issues relating to the strengthening of national values have been resolved in a matter-of-fact way—incidentally, with the complete support and endorsement of all the nationalities living in our republic. This concerns, for example, better mastery of the Georgian language by the native inhabitants, and expansion of the sphere of its use. Measures to develop the Abkhazian and Ossetian languages and improve the teaching of Russian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Greek have also evoked a favorable response.

"In general, living together with other nationalities is a historical tradition of the Georgian people. This abundant experience, moreover, objectively merits serious attention and study. I say this because our ideological services do not seem to have many scientific recommendations to offer in the field of interethnic relations, and for some reason we have yet to see much interest on the part of the Center, our major scientists and specialists. National energy is an enormous force, one which still awaits proper utilization in our country.

"To do this it is necessary to raise the level of competence of certain journalists and workers in the Central organs. Sometimes, wittingly or not, they pour oil onto the flames with their inaccurate decisions and statements. All of us must study long and hard to learn the culture of interethnic relations. And, probably, certain legal norms need to be perfected. The main thing, however, is to get to the bottom of things, not to be afraid of complications, and to reject half-truths, which are much more painful and grating upon the ear in a time of glasnost and perestroika.

"The most important tasks we face are to shape a new, effective style of work, to activate all political structures of society, and to promote the process of democratization. We will unquestionably straighten things out in the

economy and expand the production of material goods, fostered by the new political thinking in international affairs. In doing so, however, it is essential to safeguard our indisputable gains and ideals and stand up for them on principle.

"The current pre-election campaign is enhancing the authority of socialist values and trust in them, and our party organization wholeheartedly casts its vote for them. You, esteemed Aleksandr Nikolayevich, as a candidate for deputy and as one of the leaders of the party, along with the leadership of the CPSU and M. S. Gorbachev, can totally count on the republic communists' full support for the course of action that has been mapped out, on a redoubling of their contribution to perestroika and the renovation of our society."

Also speaking at the meeting were B. D. Makharashvili, first secretary of the Tbilisi Gorkom; A. M. Apakidze, vice-president of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences; A. D. Dikhtyar, leader of an integrated brigade in Tbilgorstroy's Housing Construction Combine No 5; G. D. Lordkipanidze, chairman of the board of the Georgian Theater Workers' Union; N. I. Kakhishvili, general director of Tbilisi's Mion Scientific-Production Association; L. N. Kalandadze, a student in the philology faculty of Tbilisi State University; A. A. Silagadze, editor of the newspaper SAKHALKHO GANATLEBA; and poet and Academician I. V. Abashidze. They spoke of the necessity of consolidating all the healthy forces of society and fighting for perestroika and renovation. They emphasized that only by working together, through the concerted efforts of the party and the people, will it be possible to overcome all difficulties and achieve the goals mapped out on the path of revolutionary transformations.

All of the speakers unanimously endorsed the nomination of A. N. Yakovlev as the CPSU's candidate for people's deputy of the USSR. They assured him that they would diligently and resolutely foster conditions for the successful course of perestroika, for the enhancement of the country's economic and spiritual/intellectual potential, and the irreversibility of all positive advances.

The floor was turned over to CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee Secretary A. N. Yakovlev.

#### **Yakovlev Speech**

18300480 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
28 Feb 89 pp 1-3

[Speech by A. N. Yakovlev]

[Text] Dear comrades!

Perestroika is an audacious revolution, because it has encroached upon what would seem to be impregnable bastions of old dogmas of social structure, but it has also brought forth a program of transformations unequalled in

our time. The party has found in itself the courage to take responsibility for the oversights and errors of the past, but it has also worked out a scientific formula of renovation, the profundity of which will determine the fate of the Fatherland. A society weary of wars and adversities, its own mistakes, delusions, and external military-political and psychological pressure, of hypocrisy and mounting immorality, has found the political and spiritual/intellectual strength to take hold of history and launch the gigantic social experiment that goes by the name of perestroika.

The extraordinary character of our time is reflected in more than the intensiveness and quality of social-political life, which has become suffused with democracy, glasnost, conscience and dignity, creative energy, the beneficial processes of the revival of national life. This extraordinary character is also reflected in a fusion of times, when history is perceived as present time, while the present is making history before our very eyes and through our actions. Today, as M. S. Gorbachev stated, perestroika "is embodied in new forms of socioeconomic and political organization."

Russia has lived in the Soviet era for just seven decades. Sixty-eight years ago the socialist system came to the land of Georgia, a land of millenia-old traditions and culture, to peoples whose words and deeds are inscribed in gold in the common chronicle of civilization.

Let historians and social-political commentators assess the significance of what we have come together in this hall to discuss—the beauty and greatness of our ideas, the renovation of socialism, the new stage in the development of Soviet rule itself. The capacity for self-renewal affirms more than anything else the strength of our system, its potential capabilities, and its solid, vital prospects.

The inspirational events of recent years need to be evaluated not in terms of momentary surges of emotion, whether positive or negative, but in terms of their objective contribution to the democratic renovation of the country, in terms of how this has strengthened and reinforced the dike that prevents us from returning to the authoritarian past. From this standpoint, the past year marked a breakthrough not only in the era of perestroika but also our whole history since October. A peculiarity of the situation, however, is that we are not yet capable of completely and properly evaluating everything that perestroika has brought forth. In order to comprehend social effectiveness and ongoing changes fully we must explore more deeply and evaluate all the components of our country's history, their moral significance, thus enabling us to distinguish good from evil more clearly and justly.

In elections today, the whole of our society is taking a test of democratic maturity. In elections today, the party is asserting that it is capable not only of proposing a



platform of revolutionary transformations but also making them a reality. Elections today represent a major political and social advance whose long-term consequences are difficult even to imagine. What is certain, however, is that they will substantially enhance society's cultural, philosophical, and moral potential.

The party is hopeful that in these elections to the supreme organ of authority the working people will give a resounding "yes" to the further growth and development of perestroika, doing so with a realization of the complexity of the tasks, of all that has been found out and comprehended in the last few years, with a sense of personal responsibility for the future, a commitment to the goals and fate of the country, the republic, and each collective.

As a communist and a member of the party leadership, and a candidate for deputy on the party's list, I am determined to stand up for and implement the platform of perestroika that was formulated by the April Central Committee Plenum, the 27th Congress, and the 19th Party Conference. The revolutionary renovation of socialism is the party's life and hence my life too.

Perestroika is the policy for instituting a democratic and genuinely humane, moral society. It is a course oriented toward glasnost, toward attaining the heights of law, strengthening discipline and self-discipline, and eradicating crime. Perestroika is oriented toward a self-regulating economy designed to overcome and liquidate shortages, an economy functioning on the basis of cost accounting and enterprise. It is oriented toward rigorous order in the ecological protection of nature and man. It is oriented toward comprehensive development of society's culture and freedom of artistic creation. It is oriented toward maximum emancipation of the interests, initiative, and independence of labor collectives, republics, krays, oblasts, cities, rayons, and each individual. It is oriented toward genuine self-management on all levels, the establishment of society's all-encompassing supervision over authority and every citizen's increased responsibility to society.

# I.

Comrades! The strategic outcome of perestroika is a new moral-psychological atmosphere in society. Democratism, glasnost, criticism, exactingness, and an increasingly more active civic stance—these are the certain signs of a new climate. A person who has experienced this kind of renovation of the soul will never again be what he was; he will never again be capable of blindly obeying someone else's commands and directives, someone else's will, if they are essentially in conflict with his own convictions. In other words, we are all different today—those who fight for perestroika in a revolutionary manner, those who are still waiting to see, those who are altering perestroika as they see fit, and those who frankly do not accept its transforming essence.

Never in the course of many decades has the party or the people conducted such a profound stock-taking of our situation, a careful, thoroughgoing analysis of all aspects of existence. In many respects, it is not yet complete, in many ways it is just getting started. But today already, the analysis which perestroika has made is gratefully rewarding us.

Society lives on a historical time scale. It cannot exist on any other. Conscious construction of a society of social justice is inseparable from mature historical consciousness and, therefore, from its own logical development. Perestroika has very substantially enriched us in this regard.

If it were just a matter of history, it would be easier to get our bearings. But our debates about the past have grown into a nation-wide discussion about the ways and methods of social development. And that is the point. Today it's not a matter of "passing out earrings to all sisters" but of learning to see History in each day we live, to grasp the real dialectics of living society. Without it, we are doomed to go on writing the correct words in the textbooks and documents and uttering them from the rostrum while in practice submitting to the pressure of myths and concerns of the moment, the so-called "objective circumstances" or, indeed, petty, selfish interests and ambitions.

Everyone is familiar with Lenin's precept that it was easy enough to start a revolution in Russia but much harder to continue it. It was easy to start because of the enormous concentration of acute problems, because of the dissatisfaction and disillusionment that afflicted almost all segments of society in autocratic Russia. It was harder to continue because of its backwardness, the lack of culture, and the meager experience of industrial development and habits of democracy.

Revolution in Russia took place under conditions in which capitalism was just beginning to come into its own, the bourgeoisie held no power, and democracy was just emerging. The country was one of peasantry, and the masses were illiterate. The socialist revolution simultaneously had to deal with the very complex tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This fact gave birth to a contradiction which has kept social processes in turmoil to this day. It was a contradiction of a peculiar type: It did not foster development but created an oppressive situation which constantly threatened to engulf the great social experiment that was moving forward under the revolutionary impetus of the political vanguard of the masses. The theoretical ideas that had taken root among revolutionaries concerning the principles, ways, and methods of building a new life came into conflict with the actual conditions of post-revolutionary Russia, with the coalescence of feudal and early-bourgeois structures. It turned out that the seizure of political power was by no means sufficient to put socialism firmly in place.

To Lenin, the New Economic Policy (in earnest and for a long time!) was the economic means of establishing harmonious, just relations between the peasants and the workers, the cities and the countryside, a concept of optimal economic development in the specific circumstances of a long-term transition period in the formation of the new social organism. To Stalin, NEP represented the threat of restoration of capitalism, and the peasant represented a constant agent of that restoration. The New Economic Policy wound up being put to death. The Trotskyist concept of authoritarian leadership won out and degenerated into personal autocracy, into a policy of forced societal processes—economic, social, and spiritual/intellectual.

A bureaucratic system of a particular type was created: Having taken over administrative-protective functions, it gradually pushed society toward a loss of socialist moral principles and actively fostered the regeneration of nihilism and apathy in people's psychology, behavior, and ideas about freedom and order, in people's attitudes toward the world around them, toward man and his dignity.

All this, in addition, tended to reinforce the by no means brighter aspects of human relations and revitalized the petty bourgeois mentality with all its vilest traits. All of this became brutal remuneration not only for Stalinism itself, with its blood enmity, mass suspicion, and twisted morality, but also for its unconscionably long-drawn-out agony, because it penetrated our very souls, our consciousness, our behavior, our way of life, the structure of government and economy.

Underdeveloped, deformed, and dehumanized societal relations led to alienation of the individual from production and from authority. Paradoxical as it may seem, the revolution did away with bourgeois-landlord rule and the exploitation of man by man, and it nationalized private property, but it was unable to block the authoritarian degeneration of power which, in turn, was not able—or, rather, did not wish—to overcome this alienation.

Our society has sensed the need to understand its own deep historical roots. Perestroika has shattered quite a few myths of all kinds—certain ones, in fact, which would seem harmless and even benign, or simply myths of naivete, myths of delusion or illusion. Indeed, it is sometimes psychologically more comfortable to live with myths than with the truth. But that means living with lies.

The cultivation of myths went into mass production and became a part of the political process. This was consistent with the laws of functioning, the interests, and the preferences of the command-bureaucratic system. It is instructive to note that as perestroika has probed ever more deeply into the true state of affairs and exposed one self-glorifying myth after another, the conservative resistance has clung increasingly to calls to turn back to an

idealized and romanticized, uncritically perceived past. It cannot refute the facts; it is not capable of arguing against them in a reasonable and humane manner; it obviously lacks any constructive alternative. In this respect, the work that perestroika has done to demythologize consciousness, and practice is a step of vast and fundamental significance.

To live in reality and in harmony with it is to demand the complete and honest truth everywhere and in everything. It requires knowing how and being able to correct the errant person in time, to make the irresponsible person answerable, and to call the dishonest person to account. A realistic perception of the world is the scientific, psychological, and moral basis of democracy, successful politics, and socialism as a whole.

Of course we have had to learn and listen to much that is unpleasant. The lessons of truth have proved to be bitter medicine. But didn't we already know both the taste and the benefits of this medicine even before we had resolved to take it? And didn't we know—in general, if not in detail—what we must have the courage to acknowledge in the course of perestroika and the difficult but correct conclusions we must draw?

Of course we knew. But the courage of truth and realism is the most difficult courage of all. It does not tolerate fanfare, poster-waving, and grandstanding; it is modest in appearance and manners, natural in all its manifestations, and maximally demanding of itself. Not everyone is capable of it. We are all familiar with moralistic statements like "denigration," "loss of ideals," "disappointment," and "unbelief." What is surprising, however, is that as long as the country was just marking time—in fact, was moving backwards—as long as problems and crimes were being hushed up, as long as anti-socialist and petty bourgeois processes such as corruption, all kinds of forms of social parasitism, immorality, apathy, and cynicism were flourishing—for some reason we did not hear any voices of protest from those who today are yelling so loudly about "loss of ideals." One of the fundamental causes of the stagnation we have lived through—this is very clear now—is that an attempt was being made to halt spiritual/intellectual processes and the development of social thought. To a considerable extent the attempt succeeded. Dogmatism ensconced itself firmly in many scientific disciplines, in particular those which directly determine the scientific foundations of plans and policies. Bureaucratic callousness stifled culture and emasculated the content of the mass media. Endless and unthinking repetition of the same old formulas came to be like walking around in an enclosed space.

Perestroika sounded the call to conscience, culture, and intellectualism, and their service to society. And an astonishing but, in fact, logical thing was discovered. The new moral atmosphere illuminated both its prophets and its poor in spirit with special clarity, both in the past and

in the present. Flattering criticism and social commentary, but also frequent distress signals from the intelligentsia. A literature of lies, but also the ache of village prose and the civility of poetry. Science kowtowing to departmental ambition, but also rebellious and adventurous research—all of this suddenly revealed to society the true values and moral stance of all who pressed up to the altar of the eternal muses.

No one is about to drive vanity from the temple by force. Only history is incorruptible.

The greatest wealth any nation can have is its traditions of intellectuality and a culture that is closely linked to the people, their life and hopes. Many good things have been done in Georgia to foster historical consciousness, nurture people on the sublime accomplishments of the past, and preserve the monuments of material and spiritual culture. Wise formulas have been found for harmonizing the languages and cultures of the peoples inhabiting the republic. Georgian literature, art, and social thought have made substantial contributions to the preparation of the spiritual/intellectual and moral atmosphere in society from which perestroika draws its strength.

In the development of the arts, creative advances are making themselves known loud and clear. Inevitably they reject something, and always in a socially bold manner, aggressive and challenging in form. And was it otherwise when impressionism came into being? And didn't the public get upset when romanticism appeared—and even more so in the case of nihilism, and predicted "the destruction of the foundations"? Something like that happened in the case of the avant-garde, which is also sometimes declared to be a force which "destroys" genuine art. And consider today's art of passionate, agitated, uncompromising social realism.

Even today, anything new is often looked upon with annoyance and suspicion, something which "undermines the foundations"—that is, the customs and times when many representatives of the arts sang the praises of dying and depicted it as a triumph of life (to be sure, for good pay and high honors).

But in fact it is not the breakthroughs into the unknown, not some demonism of the new, which destroy the foundations of society and culture; rather, it is lies, cunning, lack of principle, and ignorant dogmatism that give birth to pseudo-culture. Art, as we know, is synthetic, but when it is synthesized with administrative-command power, that is the source of the bureaucratic "pseudo-accomplishments" in art which inflict lasting harm on the development of genuine art. Present-day art, however, seems to be growing tired, flees from reality, deliberately complicates the language of art and sometimes insults and mocks.

Socialism must regain to itself the great mission of the freedom of artistic creativity, without which civilization must suffocate or retreat backwards. New breakthroughs

in creativity must become the norm of development of free society and art to which bureaucratic rule, restrictions, and stillborn dogmas are alien. We are not, to be sure, talking about works which propagandize violence, pornography, and hatred. Nor is imitation acceptable. To be sure, none of these are classified as true art.

In the context of political morality, I should also like to comment on the purpose of the Politburo's Commission for the additional study of materials relating to the repressions that took place in the 1930s and 1940s and the early 1950s, which the Politburo has put me in charge of. Thousands of letters are coming in to the Commission. The absolute majority of the authors endorse and support the Politburo for its efforts to restore the good name of millions of people who were unjustifiably slandered and repressed and died.

To be sure, there are other people who think that all of this ought to be forgotten and relegated to the past. The dead are not going to return, and the party's authority suffers. Such an approach is refuted by political, moral, and humane obligations. The fact that we cannot resurrect the dead is true, but we are obligated to restore their honor. Authority is neither attained nor protected by concealing uncomfortable truths. We must carry this work through to the end in order that the cleansing and repentance be complete. It is a debt of conscience to the victims of despotism, those who were besmirched and tortured, and to their near ones and dear ones.

We are also obliged to learn another moral lesson: We must finally grasp, realize, and comprehend the misfortune that befalls society when millions of communists distance themselves from making decisions, give themselves over to bacchanalias of artificial rapture, and live by the ideology of myth-making. Such a thing is understandable in a mob of religious fanatics. But in a party which has taken the responsibility for creating a new society and for the life of every Soviet citizen, such a thing is intolerable.

We must also carry the lesson of responsibility through to the end. The responsibility of everyone and all together. Let everyone who is willing without hesitation to dictate the fate and even the lives of people know this: They will not escape the judgment of history.

Perestroika places in a practical context Marx's definition that socialism is a system of developed social and humane relations. That is to say, relations that are developed and not only social but also humane in content. This is very important in order to understand what is taking place.

## II.

Comrades! The following themes have been brought to the forefront in the debates of recent months: How energetically, vigorously, and effectively is perestroika implementing its own plans and intentions? These are



reasonable questions. It is impossible to implement perestroika successfully without determining how it is going every day, every hour, what is successful, and where the failures are happening and why.

But we are also seeing a definite tendency to impose maximalist demands on perestroika. It is a tendency which is more likely to hamper the effort than to facilitate progress deeper into revolutionary transformations.

In this regard, the argumentation runs approximately as follows. The goals that have been set, the actions called for by the reforms, and the general orientation of the laws are all correct. But the implementation of these measures is being boycotted by the apparatus, which is utilizing various tricks to reduce all good intentions to nothing. As a result, the same old indicators, levers, and relations—although somewhat touched up—continue to operate in the economy. The stagnant system is not giving way. Enterprises have not been given independence, and ministries and departments continue to exert pressure. In the political system, the new election procedure is not ideal; there are no guarantees that the soviets will work in the new way, just as there are no guarantees against the possibility that perestroika will be reversed and renounced. The difficulties of the transition period have spawned rumors that perestroika is bogged down and is giving way.

As you can see, the intensity of the discussion is not abating. This is one clear and convincing indicator that perestroika is still very much alive and is enhancing the potential of the people's interest and support, that the practical influence of perestroika is beginning to come down to the workplace, and that the irreversibility of the process is becoming an increasingly hopeful factor in the success of the revolutionary transformations.

It is also true, however, that the transition to the new methods of management is a difficult one; the departments are extremely inventive in protecting their power. It is true that in many cases, forward progress is uncertain and is hampered by incompetence and unexpected developments. We all feel understandably and justifiably irritated over specific difficulties, shortages, mismanagement, irresponsibility, the tenacity of bureaucratism, formalism, and command-bureaucratic habits. All of this is understandable and natural.

But let us ask ourselves: Could anyone seriously think that perestroika would proceed without a hitch? Would it really be possible to have transformations on a revolutionary scale which did not generate resistance, failures and mistakes, vacillation and disappointments—transformations which would find the sole correct solutions every time, everywhere, and in everything? We must have the courage to admit that there can be no such thing in life in general, much less in revolutionary social transformations. Unless this is understood, there is a real danger of undermining perestroika through whining and

agonizing, of smothering it in petty squabbles and leading people to the brink of philistinism. "Everything's fine"—is an ideology that is alien to perestroika. But "everything's wrong" is the position taken by the grumbling bourgeois who thinks that even his own hands and feet are not growing right and the earth is not moving by his rules.

It is simply unrealistic to solve problems in three or four years after they have accumulated in society for decades.

If that were possible, there would be no need for perestroika itself, or revolutionary transformations in the base and the superstructure. We are faced with a colossal amount of work on the intellectual, organizational, political, and moral plane. There are many things that have to be done for the first time. And there are plenty of problems which the public has hardly even considered. Practice deals with them in terms of its own interests and by the logic of natural development.

All of us want to move ahead faster. But the renovation of socialism is not a one-time task. Its aim is to lay a solid groundwork for the self-development and self-perfecting of society, to include all the incentives and mechanisms of that kind of self-propulsion. These are what we are in most need of today.

Perestroika so far is just the beginning of efforts to overcome a pre-crisis situation. Certain negative processes have yet to be halted and turned backwards. We are right to strive for practical results of perestroika, and we must. But it would be an unforgivable error to hope for a miracle, for cardinal changes that are easy, simple, and immediate.

"...Our unconditional slogan," V. I. Lenin demanded, "must be: A little less 'supervision' and a little more practical effort—that is, a little less of general discourse and a little more of facts, verified facts which indicate where, under what conditions, and to what extent we are advancing or are standing still or falling behind."

Much has been started, and along the most crucial lines of endeavor. In this regard, 1988 was a transition year in concentrated form. That is its significance. And therein lies its difficulty: The transformations which affected the very foundations of many spheres of life and activities have brought in much that is new and unfamiliar.

We may now state with certainty that perestroika has mapped out the basic directions of the development of Soviet society for decades to come and is persistently overcoming the main source of resistance—the pre-perestroika and anti-perestroika infrastructure which acquired an enormous force of inertia over the decades and generated its own interests. The party and the working people are well aware of the fundamental tasks

they will have to accomplish in the time to come. Most important, they know the paths to take to find answers, also what to discard, because you won't find wisdom in yesterday's dead ends.

In the economy this involves problems of the independence and economic sovereignty of the labor collectives. It involves the creation of an integral system of economic levers and stimuli, social interests, legal acts and other means of stimulation which, in the aggregate, will constitute the cornerstone principle of socialism—"according to labor"—rewarding labor that is conscientious, honest, and of high quality.

In essence, serious resistance is characteristic of groups of people who have forgotten how to work, do not want to carry out their direct obligations in a conscientious manner, and have grown accustomed to getting money without regard to the quality and quantity of their work. We were always aware that there were such people among us. That there were so many and that they were so open about their demagogic cynicism was a kind of "discovery" by perestroika.

We will have to eliminate and overcome the still very powerful, hidden forms of voluntarism in regard to the economy. Forms such as price formation divorced from the market, defects in the finance system and budget practice, and the lack of economic responsibility for one's decisions.

Again, this entails subordinating the market to socialism, bringing it out from underground and semi-legality into the open to serve society. The continuing debate as to whether socialism needs the market or not is blatantly pedantic in character. First, because the market is not a property or inseparable attribute of either capitalism or socialism but rather of a developed money-exchange economy; without it, no industrially, technologically, and informationally developed modern society can function. Second, because we do in fact have a market—but one which is crippled by dogmatism and bureaucratism, by economically unpunishable autocracy, a market which in many ways has been forced to operate in its "black" forms. It is a market which has been perverted to the benefit of the command system, because it is only possible to boss around an economic worker who is objectively placed in a position of having to violate laws and directives, who is vulnerable on all sides and is therefore subject to manipulation. What we have to do, in essence, is rid the present socialist market of its bureaucratic-feudal dependency and confer full rights of citizenship upon it.

The economy is sick because the ruble is sick. And the ruble is sick because the economy is sick. This vicious circle must be broken, whatever it takes to do so. Our ruble is essentially an economic paradox. It is simultaneously wilting from resource obesity and commodity dystrophy.

Because we did not know the actual state of things we inherited in 1985, we underestimated the depth of the crisis phenomena in our economy. Essentially, we managed to stay afloat for a long time only by clinging to petrodollars and earnings from vodka.

All the problems of perestroika—finance and prosperity, the scientific-technical revolution and labor productivity, and the quantity and quality of goods and services—came up against the undeveloped state of the socialist market. But without the market it is impossible to exchange labor equivalents properly as long as we live according to the principle of payment for labor. Money, prices, taxes, stocks, discount rates, bonds, credit, and currency exchange rates—these are instruments of the market. So far we do not know how, or we are afraid, to use these instruments, and we hide our fear, our ignorance, and our non-professionalism behind empty phrases about the "bourgeois" market.

We are right in saying that the most effective hindrance to perestroika is conservatism in all its guises, whether overt or covert, mercenary or psychological, and who knows what others. No less a hindrance, however, is posed by the old debts of food, housing, and consumer goods. This triad severely hampers more rapid progress, but the urgency of it indicates that without the policy of perestroika these vital problems would be insoluble. Settling the accounts of the past and building up strategic reserves are closely interlinked, but they are not identical. There must be no confusion or mixing of terms here.

The fact that we are in a very unsatisfactory situation with regard to food and lodging, goods and services, the sphere of amenities and education, leisure and health care—all of this is not just the fault of mistakes and dishonest workers. If that were the case, it would be relatively easy and quick to correct things. But for decades we have crawled out of one shortage into another, and the phenomenon itself, clambering up the ladder of time, does not look like it's about to go away; in fact, it is growing in magnitude and impact. So the essence of the problem lies in the unsuitable conditions and methods of management, which, reproducing themselves, also reproduce the familiar flaws of entrenched practice.

Another way to put it is this. As long as the dictatorship of the producer remains intact, as long as his activities are based on everything but people's needs, as long as the whole system of relations in society reliably and impregably protects the producer against the economic results of his own activities—until that time he will not need to complicate his life by taking account of the needs, desires, and requirements of people. This is true of the whole triad and the economy as a whole.

The national economy has yet to gather the necessary speed, but the principles embodied in the reform, cost accounting, self-financing, and people's self-management are definitely beginning to work. All we

need to do is stand firm, believe in both the necessity and the inevitability of change, and not give in to cries like "Pull back" and "Put on the brakes before it's too late."

In the social sphere, the task is to overcome any and all manifestations of alienation of the individual, however it may be reflected. The way to do it is to expand the rights of the individual and the sphere of his practical endeavors and responsibility to himself, the collective, and society; the way to do it is to institute self-discipline. The way to do it is to comprehend the actual social structure of our society, to reject dogmas and models that may be attractive but are not corroborated in practice. The way to do it is to inculcate rational needs and get rid of so-called prestige consumption which makes a person hostage to things and entangles him in a net of unnecessary and harmful dependencies.

Overcoming alienation requires more than just getting people involved in economic and political administration. Alienation comprises everything which prevents a person from being himself and realizing his talents and abilities to the fullest for the good of himself and society. In the broadest sense of the word, alienation means being cut off from other people, withdrawing into the cocoon of enforced circumstances, a deficiency or lack of opportunities to make one's own choices. Giving people such opportunities in the interests of society and the interests of socialism constitutes one of the most important prerequisites of full-fledged social progress.

In the sphere of politics, the task is to institute genuine, effective people's rule and infuse it with a whole diversity of forms, procedures, and processes. The task is to set up an effective system of feedback in society along all channels—both on the "vertical" and the "horizontal"—between the economy and politics, the party and society, society and the state, the Center and the periphery [mesta], and among the labor collectives.

And, especially, between the individual and society.

People's rule can become a genuinely creative and constructive force only in a democratic society, a state of law based on the primacy of law and the equality of all before the law.

Extraordinarily positive processes are taking place in this regard. Political, social, and various self-initiated and youth organizations are becoming increasingly active. There are debates, and the level of intolerance toward different thinking is going down. Under these conditions, people's level of competence, education, and culture is rising; their self-esteem and dignity are growing stronger. But there have been disappointments.

One of the disappointments of perestroika is the fact that in some cases, the greatest achievement of our social life—democracy and its wonderful principles of glasnost, openness, and initiative—has come to be filled with anti-democratic, unworthy content.

Hardly anyone, for example, expected that in some cases glasnost would come to resemble a brawl in a bazaar, that allegedly intellectual people would start to settle personal (and group) accounts, swear at each other, and start to keep compromising dossiers on one another. Hardly anyone expected that there would be people who would start to exploit the process of democratization for organized violence, interethnic strife, and extremist acts. Many people saw, perhaps for the first time, that alongside the "second economy" in certain strata of society a kind of "second politics" had taken shape, the tune of which is called by corrupt elements. Perestroika has helped society to see and realize this rather bitter problem.

Something else has come to light. The democratization of social life and the rejection of unjustified prohibitions have revealed that our society lacks effective mechanisms for the self-regulation of political and social life. It has become clear that democratic institutions are not fully safeguarded by laws. Even the state itself is not very well protected by laws. Despite the severity of certain laws, there are many aspects in which the state is in no way legally protected against those who would harm its interests and besmirch its honor and dignity.

There are no such things as ideal laws, laws for every eventuality in life. In general, a law is not a procrustean bed for society but a means of reasonable, rational regulation serving the interests of all its members. Hence, both the legislative process and the process of enforcing the law must provide a viable and flexible means of reacting in an effective and timely manner to all changes in objective and subjective circumstances. All of this is the aim of the reform of the legislative system and the process of building a state of law.

From time to time the difficulties of the transition period and the breaking up of the old familiar methods of administration engender nostalgic urges to boss people around.

Many still lean strongly toward actions which they call "firm." Fire someone. Pound your fist, yell and impose order. Declare some social groups to be "enemies of perestroika." And so on, according to temperament and imagination. There are other views and sentiments wherein complete freedom is considered to be that of insulting the dignity of other people and the state, of calling on people to disobey the laws, of sowing ethnic strife, and so on. Actions of this sort are classified as criminal in any civilized country. There are those among us who always want to run ahead of progress and will do anything to join the ranks of the "politicals," so that the spotlight will fall only on them. Most of them hold nothing sacred, only ambition—and fear and loathing of perestroika. Sometimes they try to provoke us into severe measures on all occasions, but we must understand that for those who hurl challenges at the social structure, severe measures would mean salvation from their political bankruptcy and enable them to suffer "for Truth."



Many people are now seeking ways to enhance and expand freedom. But the main bastion of this struggle is perestroika. And it must be fought for in order that all the people may advance, in order to consolidate rather than fragment our forces, in order to prevent nationalists, conservative elements, and out-and-out professional trouble-makers from speculating on the idea of freedom and stealing freedom from perestroika. And if for any reason freedom is not obtained through and by perestroika, it will lie like a heavy stone on our conscience, the conscience of those who understood too late the call and calling of perestroika, who gave way to speculative emotions or complacent illusions.

Perestroika can succeed only on the basis of political decisions, the rallying of patriotic social consciousness around revolutionary transformations and the establishment of legal norms of socialist life, norms which had proved to be the most distorted of all.

In state affairs, firmness is, of course, essential. It was necessary, for example, to exercise the greatest resoluteness in order to embark on the revolution of perestroika, to launch the struggle for an open, free, democratic society, to pull the troops out of Afghanistan, to destroy medium- and short-range missiles, and to propose a realistic concept of a nuclear-free, non-violent world.

It is a creative kind of firmness. And it is firmly linked to perestroika. "Firmnesses" of other kinds have already demonstrated their historical bankruptcy. For us today, "firmness" by force is contra-indicated. In essence, perestroika is the first experiment in the history of our state based on major but nonviolent transformations. It is especially important to emphasize this today.

Progress toward a constantly harmonizable variant of democracy is being made under the influence of numerous policy-forming factors. The state shares a part of its power with the individual, the collective, and the social organizations, and in a socialist society this leads to an ever-growing and developing system of people's rule. The individual shares a part of his sovereignty with the state, in return for which his rights are protected, and through society he takes care of needs and interests which cannot be provided for in any other way.

Intrinsic to this process is a permanent and sharp contradiction. The more freedoms the state takes from the individual the more authoritarian it becomes. And thereby it undermines, it deprives itself of internal stability and internal sources of self-development and ways to deal with urgent problems in a timely manner. But the more power the individual takes from the state, power which is incommensurate with actual conditions for exercising it, the more anarchic society becomes and the less free the individual himself becomes.

If the state is authoritarian and the individual is defenseless, both of them are unfree. People's rule and self-government magnify the power of both the state and the

individual, making them genuinely free. Only under such conditions do labor and politics acquire creative meaning, and this is exactly the kind of socialism [sotsialistichnost] our revolution seeks.

In social life as a whole, the goal is to turn to the free creativity of the people, the flowering of spiritual/intellectual life, the securing of the highest level of social protection and justice, the full realization of man's creative abilities.

There are multitudes of problems that accumulated during the preceding period. They are unusually complex and require constant attention and enormous effort, diligence, and patience. I shall focus on just three of them.

The first is egalitarianism. At the dawn of the new social system, the socialist revolution was waging battle against a class enemy that was palpable, strong, and merciless. And the revolution triumphed. The revolution of perestroika is waging battle against opposition of a different kind: sloth, apathy, lack of initiative, incompetence, the desire to take more than one gives. One of the most important purposes of transformation, as well, is to link economic development to social progress much more closely than ever before, to utilize it to rid the economy of the unprofessionalism, dishonesty, and sloppiness of people who do not want to do real work on the job.

People will say, But where's the social protection? Not in egalitarianism, at any rate. Nor in any system wherein those who do good work are on the same footing with those who do nothing and live off the good workers, who in effect are stealing others' labor. In this way, anti-social tendencies are rewarded. Uncritical compassion, indulgence for everything at the people's expense, the perception of social justice as an attack on the whims of the shirker—all these things drag society backwards, bring it to ruin, and doom it to backwardness and worsening social problems.

The second is parasitism [izhdivenchestvo]. The conservatism of militant parasitism takes many guises, both in social terms and in its forms of manifestation. There is the desire to live at the expense of the state—that is, at the expense of others. There is the envy toward the worker who does not stint on time and energy and earns five to six times more than his neighbor. There is the hatred of the honest cooperative member who sometimes takes risks in a radically new undertaking. There is the intransigent stance of mid-level "specialists," some of whom are aware deep down that they are unfit for real work. There is the immemorial dread of the bureaucrat. There is the lack of desire—or the inability—to work in the field of theory, the field of scientific, objective analysis of the various aspects of socialist practice. And there are many others which are familiar to us all.

It is naive to assume that we can get rid of parasitism by sermons and exhortation. Just as unacceptable is the administrative pressure route, in whatever form it may take. Social relations can be changed only by acting on reality. In practice this means that the struggle for perestroika today is primarily a struggle for the vitality and effectiveness of what it has brought to our life. But it is a struggle by economic methods and examples of social experience.

The third is nationality relations. A comprehensive analysis of this question is upcoming; the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum will be devoted to it. But public discussions of the question are going on now, as they certainly must. And the main thing is that the processes that are taking place are mostly normal, although there are some warning signs.

The avoidance of real problems and difficulties, and attempts to live by comfortable myths, have resulted in unforgivable complications here as well. Political harm has been done by the claim that the nationality question can be resolved once and for all. There are no universal criteria indicating that such a thing is possible.

Socialism did resolve nationality problems which were inherited from the tsarist "prison of peoples": lack of equal national rights, the oppression of certain peoples by others, neglect of the national cultures and languages and their fate, indifference toward the dying out of whole peoples. All of this is to the eternal historical credit of socialism, and it must be safeguarded.

But there are other problems which may be more persistent and self-perpetuating, problems relating to the interaction of different cultures and peoples on an everyday basis.

There are specific problems which stem from the fact that different peoples and cultures develop at different rates and start out from different levels.

There are certain complications and contradictions, as well, which can be linked to the fact that the qualitative stages in the development of nations, stages which every people goes through independently, do not coincide in time.

Finally, there are problems which are generated by the new conditions of existence, the whole complex of the life of the country and world development.

To put it another way, any serious problem in our multi-national state—economy, politics, culture, ideology, the social sphere—inevitably has its nationality aspects.

There have undoubtedly been mistakes in nationality policy, and they need to be corrected without delay. Justified reproaches could be addressed to many quarters. But there's not much sense in that. The most

important thing today, it seems to me, is to interlink perestroika and nationality relations, to develop each people's national consciousness and responsibility to itself and to the fate of perestroika.

One of the accusations leveled at perestroika today is that it has allegedly led to an explosion of nationalist emotions and conflicts. That is not the case at all, of course; the growth of corruption, social injustice, local feudal structures; ill-considered and sometimes irresponsible deployment of productive forces; the dictatorship of the departments; crimes of ecology; neglect of the past and the healthy traditions of peoples; inadequate attention to national history, language, and culture;

All these and other problems did not come into being all at once; they accumulated over the decades and imperceptibly affected people's psychology, mentality, and social awareness. But for a long time they were kept concealed and were suppressed because no one wanted to look the truth in the face.

Perestroika lifted that pressure—not only lifted it but demanded an impartial analysis of the facts. And what is so surprising or unexpected about the fact that the reaction to this analysis has sometimes been very emotional?

Based in the soil of communist ideology, can we say that demands for attention to the historical heritage of the nations, thrifty management, a protective approach to nature and national shrines, and the desire to be master in one's own republic and deal with its affairs—can we say that these demands are contrary to nature or unlawful? Of course not. Perestroika has in fact included these problems in its political platform. Perestroika alone makes it possible to deal with them. I am convinced that the wisdom of our peoples will achieve victory here as well. Therein lies the guarantee that social concerns will not be sacrificed to narrow group concerns, to selfish and emotional concerns, that each people will acquire the possibility of controlling its own destiny in a renovated, democratic, free society.

The peoples of our country are linked together by thousands of bonds. Consider the fervent love and heartfelt feelings that inspired writings about your country by Russia's eminent sons Pushkin and Lermontov, Tolstoy and your countryman Mayakovskiy. Maksim Gorkiy's formation as a writer took place in Tbilisi, and the remains of Griboyedov are reverently entombed on Mount David. And consider all the places in Moscow that have links with Georgia and how many talented representatives of Georgian culture have contributed to Russian and even all-union culture.

In the history of bolshevism, Transcaucasia is an outstanding example of internationalism. Lenin knew a great deal about revolutionary Transcaucasia. I am convinced that it was the ineradicable internationalism and nobility of the peoples of Georgia that made the crucial

difference when, during the recent period, during the critical days of the well-known public tempers, M. S. Gorbachev's appeal evoked such a responsible reaction. This says a great deal, and it deserves high respect.

Only through joint efforts and joint struggle for perestroika can we forge new relations of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation among peoples, genuine internationalism whose ideology is infused with profound respect for national concerns and such profound rejection of nationalist tendencies.

But these relations need to be properly shaped; they need a new outlook concerning the rational, just allocation of rights and obligations, of mutual responsibility in our multi-national Union. A strong Center and strong republics, with well developed mutual economic responsibility—these are the horizons we must head toward.

Is it the state's business to decide how best to build homes in the republics, how to plant grain, harvest the crops, bring up children, protect monuments and the environment, and much else—instead of people who know these things much better and, most important, are more concerned?

Is it the state's business to decide on forms of art, including national forms, to rule on what is socialist or not, as if the state knew that better than the artist?

The state's business is something else: it is to unite all of the country's peoples under the great idea of perestroika and revolutionary transformations, to create conditions enabling each republic, kray, oblast, rayon, city, and village to handle its own affairs, to deal with them wisely and effectively, on the basis of honest consideration for the mutual interests of all, on the basis of harmonizing these interests.

The state's business is to create maximally favorable conditions for the development of the science, culture, and art of all the country's peoples.

It is to undertake every measure to develop democracy, the supreme power [vsevlastiye] of the people, and glasnost in all spheres; it is to encourage and direct initiative.

It is to know how to see, understand, and provide timely and vigorous support for the fresh growth of what is new and advanced, opening up additional prospects before the country, the people, and socialism.

### III.

Comrades! Taking the retrospective view, the key idea of our foreign policy has always been peace and an active defense of the country against aggression. We have spent considerable funds for these purposes. The Soviet people have supported this course of action. It was not based only on a belief in the military threat from abroad. Such

a threat did indeed exist. And anyone today who asserts that there was no such threat, that the notion of it was merely a game of imagination, is either deceptive or politically naive. Even now, it would be premature to write off the reality of the threat to our security.

In that case, then, why have we undertaken to do away with confrontation and to reach an agreement with the United States in military and political matters, to reduce our armed forces, armaments, and military expenditures, and to take unprecedented measures of openness? And in doing so, we are convinced that our degree of security is higher.

We were led to this conviction by the honest, open, and objective analysis that was made at the 27th CPSU Congress concerning the contradictions, tendencies, and factors of the world situation. This analysis revealed the senselessness and absolute unacceptability of a nuclear war. And consequently, it revealed the impossibility and ultimate failure of any attempt to gain security through the further accumulation of weapons of that kind or even more destructive ones. The analysis shed light on the growing importance of problems affecting all mankind, problems which, if ignored, will inevitably pose a threat to all mankind. They include problems of ecology, development, backwardness, and others. The analysis revealed the absolute necessity and practical possibility of broad, international cooperation both for the sake of all humanity's goals and interests and for the sake of our own progress and acceleration. The analysis demonstrated that there is a mighty and ever stronger potential in the world for constructiveness, democratism, and common sense, a potential that is able and willing to resist the intrigues of the forces of militarism.

Another analysis, one which was fundamentally distinct from ours in many ways, was made by those who, decades earlier, organized the "Cold War," who unleashed and promoted the arms race, and who drafted numerous plans to attack the Soviet Union. In matters of strategy, military concerns, and politics, evidently, that analysis led the other side to conclusions which coincide with ours overall. It is increasingly understood that continuing the confrontation and accumulating nuclear arms constitutes a dead end for mankind.

To be sure, shifts in the political thinking of the West are only now getting underway. There is still a long way to go to full understanding of the ultimate failure of a policy of military force, quite apart from the rejection of it. The official political thinking in the West continues to operate with categories of conflict and confrontation. Consider, for example, such phenomena as Cocom—trade restrictions on the USSR and the countries of socialism, and unending talk about the necessity of modernizing their weapons, including nuclear arms, and calls not to be hasty in responding to Soviet initiatives. Do these not constitute the legacy of the "Cold War" and a desire not to be in any hurry to reduce tension?



It is essential to see this, to understand it, and to draw the appropriate political conclusions. But not in favor of continuing the confrontation. We believe that only by further initiatives on our side—initiatives that are honest, realistic, feasible, and at the same time bold and genuinely revolutionary—can we bring face to face with public opinion those forces in the West who would like to prolong hostilities, who are directly interested in militarism and the "image of the enemy," in military orders and spending. This is why they are afraid of real, public, open diplomacy and would rather avoid glasnost in such matters. People of that sort are finding it harder and harder to explain why the world and their own countries need new arms buildups, new military research, why the world cannot live and develop right now in accordance with the laws and norms of universal human morality, civilization, and international law.

The new political thinking has enabled us to find reserves which we didn't even suspect a few years ago. We have begun to look at many problems in a different way.

Take the arms race. The security of our Motherland, our friends, and our allies is the most important priority of foreign policy. It has always been that way, and it will continue to be so. It is also clear today, however, that sometime in the past, at some specific point, we allowed ourselves to be caught up in the arms race on the basis of arithmetic rather than any rational calculation that it was dictated by military need or political expediency. Not only that, it became an additional material burden on the country, and in the eyes of a substantial portion of world public opinion, not by chance, there arose the idea of "two superpowers" which had a great deal in common in terms of power and military-political concerns. Our own public consciousness, as well, focused on the postulates and guidelines of a "beseiged fortress"; this made it difficult for us to perceive our own many opportunities, abilities, and potentials for development.

Or take the problem of human rights. You recall that when it was first made a part of the West's plan of confrontation with socialism, our reaction was generally a defensive one. It was fully consistent with entrenched bureaucratic thinking, which rejected anything new and unusual and did its best to get rid of this unfamiliar thing.

But didn't socialism start out, both in theory and practice, with the struggle for the rights of the working man? And have we ever renounced that historic destiny of socialism? Finally, is our position so shaky in this regard that we have to avoid the theme? Nothing of the sort. Now that we are holding an active dialogue on human rights, are favoring broad interaction, are willing to go much further and are calling on everyone to do the same, it is the Western diplomats who are looking for ways and means to tone down the problem of rights and restrict its compass.

Again, take our country's participation in the system of international economic relations. This participation remains quite restricted even within the framework of cooperation in CEMA, and outside that framework it is almost nonexistent. This situation is consistent with the entrenched structure of pre-perestroika departmental interests, since it reliably safeguards the peacefulness and calm existence of our economic officials, who are unconcerned with the whims of competition. But is it consistent with the interests of our society's economic progress? Does it meet the needs of enhancing socialism's influence on the affairs of the world? How can we exert that kind of influence—to say nothing of "growing" influence—unless we are present in the world every day and every hour, with our goods, our services, culture, science, and inventions, without a convertible currency? What we face here is a great complex of tasks, and we are just coming to realize it.

Finally, have we noticed what kind of international impression is made by stagnant tendencies in economic and social life, by smugness and complacency? These factors have encouraged the adversaries of socialism to be aggressive, to hope for the possibility of social revenge, and to take a tougher tone in relations with us. Among people of a variety of generally democratic forces and peace movements, moreover, they have been cause for grief. It would be naive to assume that people abroad did not see and understand the failures in our internal development, or that they did not have feelings about it—some, gleefully satisfied; others, sincerely worried.

What has changed today? In material terms, not much so far. But there have been incredible political, psychological, ideological, and moral changes. Having launched perestroika, socialism has shown that it possesses the necessary potential to survive, renew itself, and develop. It has shown that deep within it there are healthy, responsible forces which are not only aware of the complexity of the tasks but also how they can and must be accomplished. "Reporting to the people in the course of the pre-election campaign," M. S. Gorbachev said a few days ago in Kiev, "we have the right to comment on the major positive changes that have taken place in international affairs: the threat of war has been reduced, the security of the Soviet Union has been made stronger, and the authority of our policy has been enhanced greatly in dealings with the various states and in public opinion. This is the main result of the international activities of our party. That's the first point.

The second point is that socialism has mapped out a broad program of renovation designed objectively to formulate and resolve its own problems as well as others. People are doing their utmost to find answers to problems like this all over the world. And our experience, our approaches are of value to all mankind.

The third point is that socialism has mapped out an impressive program for dealing with international problems, a philosophy of new political thinking, and a new

concept of world politics and its priorities as expressed in concentrated form by M. S. Gorbachev in his speech at the United Nations in December 1988.

The fourth point is that socialism has undertaken an in-depth internal reorganization whose objective purpose is to prepare itself both for the future requirements of its own development and for requirements dictated by the character of a changing world. This is making socialism more dynamic and stronger, enabling it to stand firm on the earth.

The fifth point is that socialism readily accepts everything that is reasonable and useful in world experience. It sends forth a call for cooperation for the sake of universal human values; it is ready to seek and find, together with others, answers, approaches, ideas, solutions, concepts, and legal norms. Meanwhile, each one remains what he is, but the result will be a more rational and humane world with reciprocal scientific and spiritual/intellectual enrichment.

Once more, socialism has contributed to world development the fresh moral charge which it so needed. Hope has been born again, and this time it is linked to the revolution of perestroika.

The international situation is still rather complicated and full of contradiction. We cannot afford to close our eyes to this. At the same time, however, perestroika and the new political thinking have made the atmosphere appreciably healthier and are continuing to change things for the better. The world is gradually emerging from confrontation, is casting off the fetters of the "Cold War," and is becoming a better place for habitation and interaction. But the main thing is that it is opening up new possibilities for the normal development of socialism, no longer distorted by extreme circumstances, and progress for all mankind. And this is of paramount importance to all mankind, a genuine universal need.

Comrades! Perestroika and the new political thinking confirm the permanent value and importance of the role of the party as the real vanguard of socialist society, the focal point of moral forces, of responsiveness to urgent needs and changes, of the ability to accomplish the political mobilization of the intellectual, spiritual, and material potential of society to resolve strategic tasks of paramount importance.

Where each party organization possesses these qualities and develops them, perestroika advances. Not without problems, not without difficulties and conflicts, it moves forward. Where such qualities are lacking, things are harder for perestroika and for the party organizations themselves, social relations deteriorate, and dangerous tensions sometimes develop.

It would take a political blind man not to see how life has been transformed under the influence of perestroika. We are sometimes afraid of foam, but it was brought to the

surface by clean water. It may be that our life is more complicated now, but it is more honest, more open, we are less tolerant toward lies and indignities. Perestroika—and this is demonstrated by the present election campaign—will go faster and farther as it demonstrates its ability to affirm the truth, goodness, conscience, everything bright and good that is intrinsic to man, to all our peoples, and to our society.

Perestroika is the natural order of things, the natural progress of man and society toward humanism, democracy, the right and opportunity of every individual, every people to consciously control their own destiny, toward wisdom and responsibility, and toward moral principles as the core of personal and social life.

Social development is never finished; otherwise it would cease to develop. It dialectics continuously bring forth new problems, and they can be completely and wisely resolved only by a highly moral society of free, creatively thinking, active, independent people.

Communists have the special, crucial task of defending the ideals and values of socialism, the fundamental interests of the working people. This task is determined by the results of specific practical undertakings. To live honestly and work conscientiously is to create perestroika, to move forward, to strive for a life that is more fitting for man.

#### GRUZINFORM Summary of Tour

18300480 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
28 Feb 89 p 3

[GRUZINFORM report: "Getting Acquainted with the Republic"]

[Text] Last Saturday, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee Secretary A. N. Yakovlev made a tour of Kakheti.

The historical-architectural complex-preserve David Garejsha staggers the imagination with its magnificence. It is a whole chain of monasteries and cathedrals strung out over 150 kilometers of mountain ridge. Established on Georgian soil at the dawn of Christianity, to this day it remains unsurpassed in terms of the perfection of its design and execution, and it testifies to the high culture of the people who created it.

Not long ago, after the country's Defense Ministry, at the insistence of the public and thanks to the support of the republic's leadership, closed down the firing range that was located nearby, a considerable amount of restoration work was started on the complex; it will help to preserve this unique monument for generations to come.

The importance, history, and future of David Garejsha were explained to the guest by Professor I. N. Tsitsishvili, chief of the Main Scientific-Production Administration for the Protection and Utilization of Historical,

Cultural, and Natural Monuments (under the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers), and architect Teymuraz Abramishvili, chief of the Garedzha Restoration Section.

Commenting on the great value that monuments have for the study of a people's history, A. N. Yakovlev expressed high praise for the concern that Georgia manifests for their restoration and protection. He emphasized that the republic is setting an example of protective consideration for its own past. It is especially gratifying to note the active participation of young people in the restoration of monuments.

In Telavi, the guest toured the historical-ethnographic museum and visited the Ikalto Academy, which was one of the centers of enlightenment in Eastern Georgian in the 11th and 12th centuries. A people's university that has been in operation there for 25 years has become a real center for the dissemination of knowledge and culture among the working people of this part of the republic.

The university's rector, Honored Cultural Worker of the Georgian SSR G. E. Shatirishvili, explained the principles of the work of the people's university, its importance in organizing continuing education for rural workers and improving their cultural and general educational level. They are helped in this by eminent scientists and cultural figures of Georgia who appear regularly to give lectures and hold classes. The Telavi State Drama Theater is one of the oldest in our country. Last year it held a public observance of its 200th anniversary. Housed in a beautiful new building that would grace any large city, it has become a center of esthetic upbringing for the people, popularizing the best works of classical and contemporary drama. Every year it adds to its repertoire seven or eight new pieces which are performed for two or three years.

In conversation with the theater's collective, topical questions concerning the repertoire, the actors' pay, and their living conditions were touched upon. It was emphasized that a rayon center theater has always served as a disseminator of new ideas and a popularizer of culture which attracts the intelligentsia around it. It must fulfill its mission in all eras, especially today, when our country has embarked upon the path of active perestroika of all social and political life.

A. N. Yakovlev also toured the Museum home of the eminent Georgian writer and public figure Aleksandr Chavchavadze in Tsinandali.

The guest was accompanied on his tour by Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary D. I. Patiashvili.

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On 26 February, A. N. Yakovlev continued his tour of the sights of Tbilisi. He visited Abanotubani, where he looked at an exhibit of works by young artists. The exhibit, displayed in this old nook of Georgia's capital city that has been nicknamed "Tbilisi's Montmartre," included over 200 paintings. There were works by Rusudan Petviashvili, Tamaz Kakabadze, Temo Tskhovrebashvili, Dato Maisashvili, and Levan Vardosanidze, and others, works which introduce the visitor to a world of rich fantasy full of surprises and discoveries. Different voices and different styles, but the works of these young people are united by the desire to depict the world around us vividly and clearly, by a keen interest in man's spiritual world and in the history and the present day of their people. Comrade A. N. Yakovlev talked to the young painters, inquired about their creative aspirations, and wished them success in their work.

Then A. N. Yakovlev met with the young cinematographers of the Pioneer-film Studio in the B. Dzneldze Palace of Pioneers and Schoolchildren. He also met there with Armenian children of the same age from Spitak, who are temporarily going to school in Tbilisi. Grigol Chigogidze, the head of the studio, told the guest that the youngsters are making a film about the friendship of Georgian and Armenian schoolchildren. During their conversation, A. N. Yakovlev asked some detailed questions about the plans of the young cinematographers.

Samples of paintings, sketches, sculptures, and applied arts were on display in the Pirosmiani Youth Club, where A. N. Yakovlev was invited. Explanatory talks were given by art specialist Manana Gigiberiya and by the president of the Pirosmiani Club, Tamaz Kakabadze. In the guest register the guest wrote: "New art, like any innovation and audacious idea, casts doubt upon and sometimes even overturns something. But therein lies the charm of creation and life itself.

"Keep it up, dear comrades, because only in this way is art able to carry out its mission—to write the true history of man, his joys and sorrows, hopes and happiness. Thank you!"

A. N. Yakovlev was accompanied by comrades D. I. Patiashvili and O. Ye. Cherkeziya.



## Relation Between Religion, Nationalities Conflicts Examined

### Academic Places Onus on Official Policies

Moscow *NAUKA I RELIGIYA* in Russian

No 3, Mar 89 pp 2-3

[Text of keynote address by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences L.N. Mitrokhin at the roundtable on the theme "Religion and Nationality" held by the Institute of Scientific Atheism on 18 Nov 1988, under the rubric "Perestroyka Update": "Religion and Nationality"]

[Text] The benefit from our discussion will depend to a considerable extent upon whether we shall be able to single out the crucial and most urgent among the theme's many aspects. The theoretical level of our understanding of the problem appears to me to be such an aspect.

First, as they say, an example from life.

Among our colleagues there probably are an Armenian, an Azerbaijani, a Russian who has long lived in Lithuania, and a Lithuanian—doctors of sciences, capable of competently expounding nationality-problem theory "in scientific fashion." However, if talk about the recent nationality conflicts should arise, each, I am almost certain, would defend the viewpoint adhered to by the majority of his nationality's people.

The reason for this is that neither nationality relations nor how they are viewed is determined solely by the intellect, scientific arguments, and education. A special stratum of feelings and beliefs, deeply rooted in the nationality's past is struck here. Thus, generalizations of empirical facts, opinions, and views are inadequate for understanding the problem and uncovering the complex, manifold relations between life's material conditions on the one hand and a nationality culture, imbued in religious shades, on the other. It is essential to introduce this kind of discussion into the context of strictly scientific, professional research.

However, considerable difficulties lie in wait for us. If Marxism be taken in its entirety, the problems of nationality relations and religion probably will prove to be the least worked out. I shall not speak of reasons, or even point out the exceptional value of the views expressed by Marxism-Leninism's classic figures. Something else is beyond doubt: The classic figures did not leave us a systematic exposition of their views in this regard. And the world situation has entirely changed over the past 70-100 years.

There is also no point in speaking at length about "nationality-problem theory's" submissively serving state policy, and laying a scientific foundation beneath it, during the difficult years of Stalinist one-man rule and

thereafter. Of course, at the emotional level, we disapproved of this approach. However, the dogmatic directives it gave rise to are poisoning our thinking from within, like the nitrates in "totally natural" vegetables, to this day.

It is customary to believe that science's task is to depict reality "as it is." This, of course, is naive. Science's job is the theoretical reproduction of reality, and the uncovering and analysis of its fundamental relations and dependencies. The extent to which this is successful depends largely upon the research tools—the concepts, categories, and abstractions used, the heuristic methods, etc.

Jorge Luis (Borges) observed: "The book in which there is no antibook is considered incomplete." I should present this in nonabstract form thus: The disproof of its possible errors must be included in a concept, or else its exposition is incomplete. This is useful advice for us all: Treat with the utmost criticism the concepts and views which we have become accustomed to treat as self-evident theory features, although they express, in fact, not the nationality problem's true content, but how the content looks in the context of administrative bureaucratic thinking. The importance of the "weighed" approach is often talked about. As if it could be put on scales!

When mentioning nationality culture, we often automatically recite: "socialist in content and national in form." It is not difficult to see, however, that this definition associates a culture's actual traits only with its class features, and assigns a secondary, relatively unimportant place to its local traits acquired over the centuries—these are merely a semblance. Furthermore, nationality culture is usually viewed as primarily a spiritual phenomenon, and as an ideological packaging of a way of life. To the extent that an integration process in the material conditions of existence for separate nationalities and ethnic groups is considered inevitable and progressive, the elimination of differences in the spiritual culture sphere is also declared desirable, except for the merely superficial and the purely decorative details. Any other way of thinking is usually described as a manifestation of "nationalistic throwbacks."

At the same time, Marx showed that social existence (social activity) is impossible without the consciousness, goal setting, will, and a certain psychic state of the people. It is possible to think about social existence separately from social consciousness only in abstraction, within the context of a philosophical question about its "primacy" or "secondariness." This applies in full measure to a nationality culture, as a complex, homogeneous system of material and spiritual elements: Tools and products of labor, way of life and kinds of behavior, rituals, symbols, myths, moral standards, psychic stereotypes, etc.

Religion is one of a culture's basic components. It is usually defined as a particular form of social consciousness, insisting on the existence of an all-powerful God. And there is further explanation that this concept causes, among its believers, a striving to influence higher powers by means of various rites, holidays, and ceremonies. That is, the belief gives rise to a cult. This view is a rehash of the theological viewpoint, turning everything upside down.

Religion, Marx stressed, is one of the means of "spiritually practical" mastery of reality, satisfying historically developed social needs. In other words, it (in contrast to theology) is not merely a system of abstract dogmas and general moral prescriptions, but a specific type of social activity, and a system of views, stimulating, regulating, and justifying the activity. Religion is "an element of the real world" (Marx), an organic, active component of its social fabric, which manifests itself throughout human existence's "vertical" dimension.

So, in a nationality culture, religion is not just a husk, an outer ideological layer that is easily stripped off by enlightenment and education. As a special "life science," it is deeply rooted in people's everyday activity and permeates their attitudes. Let us say that it is impossible to correctly evaluate Islam's place in the life of Central Asian peoples if it is not seen that Islam's regulations encompass all of everyday life, and color and determine the most responsible and critical moments in the lives of both the individual person and the society as a whole. Everyday Islam is perceived by the majority of the population as the definitive, inalienable element in the peoples' traditions, and its influence is ensured by a strict public opinion. We must be aware of this when we discuss the meaning of Islam's separate elements, and even more aware of it in attempts to "eliminate" these.

We have long conducted an extensive and extremely wasteful campaign to replace religious ceremonies with new, worldly ones. Why are the campaign's results so limited? Apparently, the crux of the matter is that the "new ceremonial system's" creators and founders are not considering what is most important: A rite is not a pleasant pastime, not a "meaningful spare-time" event, but a historically developed method of propagating an age-old social custom, a method of regulating and orienting the human psyche at its most responsible and critical moments, and a means of acquainting a person with collectivist, socially advisable, and firmly established values, norms, and types of conduct. The system of rites has developed over thousands of years as an organic whole; and a crude, and at times even uncereemonious, meddling in its fabric, compelling people to accept forms developed in offices, and often replete with pomposity and window dressing, can never lead to the establishment of a rite in the true sense of the word, because such a rite arises from the people's inner need.

There has been talk here of a necessity to make a distinction between religious and people's rites. Such an objective seems extremely dubious to me. Rites have not

been imposed from above by religion; they have taken shape from below, in the process of everyday living. And, inasmuch as history knows no religionless culture, it would be more correct to talk about the degree of combination of the worldly and the religious in rites. True, it is important to point out that a successor religion often adopts rites of its predecessor religions (pagan, as a rule), falsifying the rites' initial meanings and origins. There are many examples of this in both Islam and the other religions.

In any event, any attempts to administratively repattern rites rooted in the people's customs and consciousness inevitably offend religious sensibilities, and in our times, when such initiatives are usually attributed to pressure from the "center" [Soviet Government], they also offend nationality sensitivities.

One should approach a distinction between the "essential" and the "nonessential" in established rituals extremely cautiously. In every age, the traditional symbols in religion's language (parts of rituals, dogmas, norms, myths, etc.) are replete with tangible historical content, which it is impossible to remove from a given symbol's very "body" and "substance." And that which may seem a real trifle from the outside, something long obsolete, often arouses people's deep feelings, and any infringement of this "trifle" elicits uncompromising resistance because, for the believers, it is a symbol of a most important sociocultural phenomenon—like the two fingers raised above her head by Boyarynya Morozova.

Generally speaking, the main defect in many atheistic works is replacement of the believers' true attitudes, and their logic and priorities, with a personal conception of these, taken, not from real life, but, at best, from official religious publications that meagerly reflect the "living" religion. Indeed, how can an opinion be expressed about what a man's religious need is, and what is imposed upon him by the priests of his cult, if the opinions of the believers themselves are not known. Some atheists presume to talk in just this way about whether parents have the right to teach religion to their children, whether the church may engage in charitable activity, etc.

I wish to stress again and again: A nationality culture, especially one permeated with a religious attitude, is a homogeneous, organic establishment (at any rate, the people themselves see it as such), and any sorts of unjustified external influences or attempts at its regulation from the outside inevitably cause tension.

At times we encounter the conviction that religion causes internationality conflicts. It is impossible to agree with this. Yes, history knows quite a few examples in which wars and armed clashes between peoples and nationalities were motivated by religious concepts. However, the causes of these conflicts lie elsewhere—in objective socioeconomic contradictions. It is another matter that such contradictions can be perceived by people in religious form and exert a marked influence upon believer

consciousness and behavior. Religion is capable of escalating one or another conflict, having an utterly prosaic, mundane origin, into the cosmic class; formulating it, on the basis of clashes commonplace since time immemorial, in a generalized and absolute form that makes any sort of compromise difficult.

In principle, nationalistic feelings develop in a similar way. The presence and interaction of different nationality cultures *per se* cannot be the cause of conflicts. The latter are caused by real socioeconomic contradictions. These may be very diverse: unwisely disposing industrial projects, especially if they are dangerous in an ecological respect, imposing monoculture farming, ignoring and impoverishing local handicraft and subsistence industries, and even, for example, disrupting supplies; to say nothing of actions directly related to nationality policy: territorial reallocations, displays of Russianizing tendencies, a disrespectful attitude toward local customs and cultural monuments, etc. Actually, the nationalism is exhibited, not in the fact of protest against such offensive occurrences—this protest is justified and natural—but in the protest's nationalistic particulars.

In conflict situations, nationality feelings that give a person a sense of involvement with his or her roots, his or her people, and the legacy of his or her forefathers can lend a generalized nature to ungeneralized conflicts, and represent the latter as the inevitable consequence of the differing nationalities' incompatibility. Thus arises a nationalistic consciousness, capable, with its utopianism and extremism, not only of assuring, but also of intensifying the conflict situations.

The sameness of religious and nationalistic representations, reflecting real "worldly" processes in an illusory and converted form, and describing them in an oversimplified and thus easily understood and popular form, explains why these go side by side in history as a rule, supplementing and reinforcing each other.

Thus, in the pre-socialist stage of nationalities formation, religion was one of nationality self-consciousness' main components. It deduced the nationality's "roots," not so much from the latter's long historical development, as from certain mystical foundations arising beyond the framework of historical events. Therefore, it is with good reason that "their own" religion is perceived, in the consciousness of its adherents, as the focus and epicenter of their culture, not only expressing, but also creating the culture's particulars. And, if conflicts arise in a multi-nationality society, they readily take the form of a defense of absolute, Heaven-reaching values, a form of conflict brought about, not by specific worldly causes (and thus amenable to elimination), but by the eternal conflict of "good" and "evil," of the "godlike" and the "satanic."

The religionationalistic complex's rebirth is most typical of the peoples that have made the transition to the socialist development path from a feudal or pre-feudal

stage in the historical process. During the years of Soviet rule, a persistent and, at times, forced breakdown of the ancient, often patriarchal, principles determining these peoples' way of life has taken place. However, because of the nationality-consolidation processes' incompleteness and the purely superficial nature of the changes, the pre-socialist forms of interrelation, the tribal and family ties, the traditional way of life, the social order, and the customs are constantly being restored; something which, in turn, is associated with a galvanization of the archaic consciousness forms, only seemingly replaced, of the psyche, the interpersonal relations, and, naturally, the religion.

However, the terms "throwbacks" and "prejudices," with which our atheistic literature is overfilled, should be used extremely carefully. They are justified when talking about the broad historical prospect of nationality consciousness' gradually developing against a background of democratization and social-problem solution which avoids enmity toward other peoples, unscientific representations about a culture's essence, etc. But these "throwbacks" do not automatically migrate from one age to another; each generation adopts them anew, under the influence of a historically tangible situation. Thus, it is necessary to seek their causes, not so much in consciousness traits, education deficiencies, and ideological-work oversights, as in the makeup of the society in which the people live.

With all of their primitiveness (for example, the prejudiced attitude toward an "alien culture," the "us" - "them" opposition), these "throwbacks" constitute enduring institutions, established at the level, not of the theoretical and abstract, but of the practical consciousness, with all of its sensibilities, experiences, emotions, psychological reactions, and the like. Therefore, they possess powerful compensative properties, and provide for a person's adaptation to abnormal events that trouble him or her. They can also be a stimulus to vigorous actions, for both individuals and sizable groups of a nationality's people. For this reason, it is impossible to explain the "throwbacks'" activation without analyzing the social and interpersonal relations, the political control methods, etc.

Thus, constant administrative bureaucratic and departmental meddling in nationality relations leads to such prejudices' and throwbacks' becoming the moral and psychological stimulators of action at, so to speak, the horizontal level, which opposes the pressure from "above." In other words, the researcher's job is not simply to expose the "unenlightened," and "backward" prejudices, but—to explain why and how these become an organic component of modern spiritual life.

We have constantly declared that the chief cultural values are those that are established by rapid transformation of people's living conditions. However, if the transforming work causes unpleasantness and protest, the nationality self-consciousness exhibits another logic:



A culture's value is in its faithfulness to traditions, in the viability of "the forefathers' legacy," and in the counteraction of any sort of "outside" intrusions. Such an ideology, "conservative" with respect to its own culture, is readily transformed into nationalistic enmity toward other peoples. This logic is inherent in the consciousness, not only of believers, but of nonbelievers as well.

Let me repeat: We are just beginning the serious investigation of this subject, and thus it remains impossible to express knowledgeable opinions on many of its important aspects. One thing should be clear even now: We do not need mere summaries of views and opinions, which interpret real processes rather subjectively. The sharp and abnormal contradictions that have been hushed up for decades must be comprehended in a system of strictly scientific categories and concepts.

**Academy of Social Sciences Roundtable Held**  
*Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian*  
*No 3, Mar 89 p 4*

[Commentary under the "Information and Chronicle" rubric: "New Approaches Needed"]

[Text] What role does religion play in the lives of nationalities? Does it have an effect on the nationality processes which are coming alive today, and which, as is acknowledged by all, are an organic part of a social renovation process? What is the interrelation of the national and the religious in a culture and in social consciousness? Can religion become a cause of internationality enmity? These and other timely questions in present-day nationality-relations theory and practice were discussed at a "roundtable" held by the Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Scientific Atheism last year on 18 November.

Various problems in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the country's peoples were touched upon during the discussion, and this again showed convincingly that religion fits into the whole range of problems, variously manifesting itself in the social processes. Many former stereotypes and dogmas concerning religion's role do not help, either to explain or to evaluate these manifestations. For this reason, a question was raised, in a number of addresses, about scientific atheism's purpose, and about the methodology for studying religion. Ya.V. Minkyavichyus, Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, observed that there is a predetermination in the very concept "scientific atheism," the notorious negation of religion, even though religion is a natural historical and sociocultural phenomenon, requiring profound, unbiased study. There has been no adequate conception of this phenomenon in our science heretofore, the conceptual apparatus has not been developed, and the phenomenon's crucial aspects have not been singled out; and, without these, the problem's fruitful study is impossible—thus did Doctor of Philosophical Sciences L.N. Mitrokhin define the primary task of religion scholars.

Erroneous approaches to religion, underestimation of its role in nationality life, and, to be sure, certain factors in our activity are becoming the cause of a union of religious attitudes with the nationalistic. Scientists studying religious life in the Central Asian Republics and Transcaucasia talked about this.

A complicated, and not fully resolved, problem is that concerning the history and current activity of the Uniate Church in the Ukraine. Doctor of Philosophical Sciences P.L. Yarotskiy noted that the incorrect formulations, commonplace in the literature, create an impression of it as the Ukrainian Nationalist Church, and that it is necessary to make fundamental distinctions between the Uniates of the 1930's - 1940's and the modern believers belonging to this branch of Christianity.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M.S. Dzhunusov stressed the need to introduce clarity into the problem of religion's social roots in our society, because it is impossible, without preciseness in this matter, even to work out the proper approaches to the theme "Religion and Nationality."

The discussion at the Institute of Scientific Atheism showed once again that the "background information," accumulated by our theorists studying the religion and atheism problems, is inadequate for theoretical expression of religion's current status in our society. New approaches are needed, new working concepts, and profound analysis of all of this urgent problem's various aspects.

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**Jewish Community in Tashkent Celebrates Purim**  
*18000798a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian*  
*27 Mar 89 p 4*

[Article by G.Lebedev: "Purim, a Spring Holiday"]

[Text] For nearly two and a half thousand years Jews have been celebrating the joyous holiday of Purim during the month of spring. Yet, during the period of stagnation popular traditions were forgotten and replaced with artificially invented celebrations. This spring holiday was remembered less and less frequently.

This spring in Tashkent folk legends of Esther and Mordecai, as well as the songs and music of Purim, are being heard once again. The ancient holiday has been revived by the Tashkent Center of Jewish Culture "Shalom". The people marked the holiday for three days in the public recreation area of the republic's Exhibition of Economic Achievement. Employees of the cooperative cafe "Bolgaria" did their best, offering a wide selection of traditional Jewish dishes.



**Bishop Lev Discusses Church-State,  
Moslem-Christian Relations**

18000798b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
25 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with Lev, Bishop of Tashkent and Central Asia, by Lev Saveliyev: "He Who Needs Help Should Offer Help to Others: Lev, Bishop of Tashkent and Central Asia, Discusses Changes in State-Church Relations"; first 4 paragraphs are a boldface introduction]

[Text] We have learned at a very young age that the church is separated from the state. And not only separated but also alienated. What took place under the gilded onion domes was a mystery to atheists. What did believers pray for? What did clergymen teach them in their sermons? All that remained unknown to most of our countrymen. Yet, it turns out that believers pray for peace, which is what atheists also strive for. Clergymen exhort their flock to be charitable, which is one thing we have forgotten in recent years. Religious people have the same sensitive and kind hearts as those who do not practice religion.

Even though church is separated from state, how can we alienate religious citizens from their Fatherland? Yet, we tried to do so, trying to prove that it is impossible to attain the bright future if believers were included in it as well. In other words, let them go to their heaven, while communists, embarking on a parallel path, will strove for communism.

In the light of perestroyka's ideas, the place of the church in the state is now seen differently. The new way of thinking is changing the relationship between society and religion. Here, according to one clergyman, progress has already been apparent.

How does it manifest itself? This is the subject of the conversation between Lev, Bishop of Tashkent and Central Asia, and a PRAVDA VOSTOKA correspondent who visited the Tashkent diocese office of the Moscow Patriarchy.

[Saveliyev] Your Grace, we meet on the eve of a major political event in our country, the elections of the USSR people's deputies. These elections to the highest body of state power are different from the ones our people are accustomed to see. As to the clergy, you should have a special attitude to them. In all the years of Soviet power you only had the right to elect; now, for the first time, you have the opportunity to be elected.

[Bishop Lev] Today, political reform in the country has created the real opportunity for religious people to become members of Soviet parliament. A number of clergymen have been nominated candidates for the people's deputies by public organizations. They include representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Pimen, Metropolitan of

Leningrad and Novgorod Aleksi and Metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yuryev Pitirim, as well as the spiritual leader of Trans-Caucasian Muslims Sheik-ul-Islam Allahshukyur Pasha Zade.

The names of the deputies are also known.

[Saveliyev] What is the election platform of those clergymen?

[Bishop Lev] Election platforms of all candidates are different. In my opinion, they depend on the activity of the organizations which nominated them. At the same time, they are united in their desire to serve society and the country in many different ways.

[Saveliyev] Recently, believers have been increasingly included into social activities. In which areas could the church be helpful to the state?

[Bishop Lev] Believers are citizens of their country and are no less than others concerned with the well-being of our common home. Our concern starts with concern for universal peace. Bringing about peace is an integral part of the Russian Orthodox Church's activity.

After every service in our temples we say a general prayer for peace in the world. In the mind of a Christian, peace is, on the one hand, peacetime interpreted as absence of war and, on the other, it is well-being in daily life or the state of man at peace with nature, himself and God. This is why believers support the efforts of the Soviet government to create a nonnuclear and nonviolent world.

The widening dialogue between church and state allows believers to participate actively and usefully in various areas of public life.

Of these activities, we assign great importance to charity. Our church historically has had a rich experience in social work, especially in that area. We are pleased to see that along with the concept itself the word charity is coming back into use in our society. Yet, not everything has been done to awaken our hearts, since charity is not only the result of an instinctive kind impulse but a conscious effort of kindness as well, directed by the free will to carry out one's inner duty.

Service to our neighbor renews and strengthens our moral values. In most cities, believers have been allowed into hospitals and nursing homes to carry out charity in practice.

Tashkent also has groups of people who need moral and practical support. For many years, a number of parishioners of the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Most Holy Mother of God privately dedicated themselves to charity. Now the question is being decided whether to give official status to those good intentions.

[Saveliyev] You mentioned individual believers. Yet, the Russian Orthodox Church is also a collective member of many public funds.

[Bishop Lev] Yes, and I am a member of the presidiums of their branches in the republic. Those funds include the Peace Fund, the Culture Fund and the Soviet Children's Fund. Every three months the church makes contributions to those organizations.

[Saveliyev] How much?

[Bishop Lev] Last year, the diocese contributed R10,000 to the Peace Fund. Another R131,000 was contributed by individual parishes. We gave R5,000 to the Culture Fund, and parishes gave another R30,000 or so.

I would like to say more about our participation in the Soviet Children's Fund, since this activity is the most tangible one. We contribute to that fund for specific needs.

This year we paid the entire cost of the children's nutrition laboratory, for which Uzbekistan has an acute need. The contribution totaled R40,000.

Equipping a rehabilitation center for children raised in orphanages cost R50,000, which the church also paid.

At a conference recently held by the local branch of the fund, concern was expressed for the health of women during pregnancy. It was mentioned that the republic needs a gynecological laboratory produced by a Western company. But the difficulty is that it uses chemicals costing R100,000 a year. In this area, we are willing to help as much as we can. The church could also build some not overly expensive facilities.

[Saveliyev] Speaking of the church's charitable works we inevitably mention its financial resources. If it is not a secret, what are they?

[Bishop Lev] By no means unlimited. They do not exceed R500,000 a year. If we conscientiously carry out our duties as a collective member of public organizations, it means that we must spend more modestly on our own needs. Due to the attitude to the church that prevailed for many decades, some temples have completely decayed and need major repairs.

[Saveliyev] By the way, how many parishes does the diocese have?

[Bishop Lev] In the four republics, i.e. Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenia and Tajikistan, the diocese has 51 parishes of which 22 are in Uzbekistan. Several new ones will probably open.

[Saveliyev] In our region, churches stand next to mosques. You have recently attended the congress of Central Asian and Kazakhstan Moslem leaders. What can you say about relations between Christians and Moslems?

[Bishop Lev] I am grateful to the spiritual leaders of Moslems for the invitation to attend and to speak at the congress. It was an extremely important event not only for Moslems but for all citizens. In recent years, many general problems have accumulated requiring urgent solution. I liked the style of the congress: the sober evaluation of facts, precision, seriousness and, of course, optimism.

I share all Moslems' joy over the fact that a greatest relic of Islam, the Koran of Khalif Osman, was returned to them by the republic's government. You should have seen the heartfelt joy of the people which they expressed with their typical Oriental passion. As a believer, I understand and share their joy.

Let me use this opportunity to extend my sincere congratulations to Makhumadsadyk Mamayusupov on his election as Tashkent Mufti.

It so happened historically that our republic became the point of contact between Christianity and Islam. Documents from distant past bear testimony to peaceful coexistence of the two religions. Representatives of different culture lived like brothers. Before and during World War II, the kindness of the people who live in this region manifested itself once again.

This is why studying history, assessing the present and looking ahead to the future I attach much importance to cooperation between Muslims and Christians, who worship the same God and serve the same society.

[Saveliyev] And the final question, Your Grace. I know that you speak Italian and French. Do you have any desire to learn Uzbek?

[Bishop Lev] I do. But could you show me the bookstore where I could find a textbook for independent study of Uzbek or a Russian-Uzbek phrase book?

The study the languages is the shortest possible way to understand a national culture. In Finland, the population is fluent in both Finnish and Swedish. In Switzerland, French and German are used equally. At the Rome University where I studied after finishing the Leningrad Theological Seminary, all professors spoke five languages. It is your business whether you know five languages or you do not, but then you can not teach there.

I spent three years of pastoral obedience in Arabic and French-speaking Morocco. I delivered my sermons in French and everyone who visited the parish could understand me.

In our enormous country, bilingualism is particularly important. It should be taken into account that a portion of the rural population in our region do not know Russian. Yet, these people live in their native land. If I want to communicate with them I must learn their language.

Believe me, I am equally happy to hear "Good Morning" or "Assalomu Alaykum".

**LaSSR Lutheran Bishop Discusses Church, Social Issues**

18000773a Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 6

[Article by Natalya Lebedeva: "If There Is Peace In the Soul"]

[Text] The first time I visited the home of Pastor Kharald Kalnynsh it was completely by chance—I was escorting a radio newsman from Hamburg, Christian Rayman. I would not be mistaken if I were to call the feeling that suddenly came over me in this modest city apartmentspiritual well-being. I felt as if I had left all my disquiet, my daily cares and disturbing thoughts on the doorstep. I do not know how to explain it, but the house seemed to shine. One got the feeling that they had been waiting just for us and were infinitely glad to see us. The pure, shining faces of our hosts—the 77-year-old pastor and his wife Viya Yanovna, radiated such love for us, people, who had after all ended up here by accident, that initially one might even have thought it insincere. And yet, for some reason, such thoughts never entered our heads. Without thinking about it, we somehow were convinced of the unfeigned joy of our hosts...

And here I am again in this house.

The table in the living room has been decorated with a wreath of pine boughs with brightly colored holiday decorations and four candles. Anticipating my question, my host explained, "This wreath is a symbol of Advent. During the 4 weeks before Christmas we decorate our places of worship and homes with such wreaths. See there are four candles. Every week we light another candle." With these words, the pastor lit one of them and fragrant smoke filled the room. Here was one more sign of respect for the guest—an advent candle is lit in his honor...

Just that morning, the pastor had returned from Lenin-grad, where he had been invited by the local Lutherans to celebrate the beginning of Advent. Kharald Kalnynsh is a bishop and the pro-rector of the Theological Seminary of the Lutheran Evangelical Church of Latvia, which trains pastors and preachers for our republic and Lithuania. (Estonia has its own seminary.) Next year this educational institution will serve all 500 Lutheran parishes in the USSR. And starting then, the pro-rector will have to inspect every parish, determine its needs and provide guidance. This is not easy work, if you consider

the geographic range—Central Asia, Povolzhe, the Urals. Of course, trips cannot be avoided, but there will be local deacons appointed—clerks, inspectors and administrators all in one. And one need have no doubt that not only will business be conducted in an exemplary fashion, but man and his needs will be given the place of honor. Why am I so sure? Well these are the "specifics" of this area of our lives.

True faith is a talent. It is, first and foremost, an immense but far from idealized love of mankind: complete understanding, support, and sympathy if a person is in need. It seems as if this comes effortlessly to people like pastor Kalnynsh, naturally, like breathing. Perhaps this is so, but what enormous spiritual labor he has performed his whole life!

"My parents were believers, says Kharald Karlovich. "My father was a Latvian and my mother a German. They were wise people and did not force faith on me. But in the spiritual atmosphere of my family, from childhood I sought peace in my soul. I constantly asked myself, 'How can I become a better person?' I even kept a diary where, on one side of the page, I listed my good deeds and, on the other, my bad ones. And for some reason the second list was always longer and this grieved me a great deal. Starting at 13, I began to read the Bible, gradually opening up a whole new world for myself. The struggle with myself, my self-education—that was the most difficult. But the harder this struggle the stronger our faith. After all those who do obvious evil are not the only sinners; to be a sinner you need only have the wrong attitude in life, one of superiority to others and self-love. Indeed some people have difficulty accepting the thought that they are not "the best" if only in some single area. As Dostoyevsky says: "After all this is where God and the devil do battle, and their battlefield is the hearts of men."

"When I was young I wanted to be a businessman, but then I thought, 'What will God say if you think only of your profits?' I decided to become a missionary, like Doctor Albert Schweitzer, and then I rejected that idea too—here in Latvia my faith was also needed by the people. War was in the air, and I was afraid that I would not be able to return to my homeland. And what would I be without my homeland?

"I had to fight, and was shot at. But, thank God, throughout that entire time I never once shot at anyone.

"After the war things were very hard. The persecution of the church, which had begun in 1930, did not cease. Although no one actually fired you, the conditions were created to make you abandon your job of your own volition. For example, I was required to pay the state 20 thousand rubles annually. Where would I get that kind of money? But I worked, and of their own free will, my parishioners helped me to accumulate the necessary



sum. I never could even think of adopting another profession. After all I was needed by the people, no matter how difficult it was for me—I had to ease their suffering."

"There is much that divides and estranges people. But there are common human values that are of equal importance to everyone. Aren't these the questions that the ecumenical movement is attempting to answer?"

"The idea of uniting the churches has been in the air for a long time, since the time of the medieval philosopher-theologian Nikolay Kuzanskiy. The essence of the movement lies in the union and collaboration of different faiths on problems common to all humanity. The main thing is to ensure peace, and thus to save life on Earth. Help for those suffering from drought and other natural problems, reconciliation of conflicts, and misunderstanding among peoples. In such things it is not important what your nationality, ideology, or faith is—people must speak with each other in a common human language.

"Officially, the Lutheran Church in our country does not participate in the ecumenical movement, since it does not have the status of a church in the USSR. In addition, it is very complicated to collaborate with the Eastern religions, after all Allah has decreed "destruction to the infidels." But in any event, we must not deepen the gulf that divides us, we must seek ways to unite us."

"The human rights and freedoms in the USSR include freedom of conscience. But here for many years the believers, and the church as well have been in an ambiguous position. Let us put it this way: faith was secretly discouraged."

"I can say that the "warming trend" in attitudes toward the church began approximately 10 years ago. The hypocrisy of the "upper echelons of society" was felt most, of course, by the young. The young were especially repelled by the fawning and sycophancy, the persecution, taking on national dimensions, of honorable and wise people who dared to speak the truth in an atmosphere of universal lies and fear. Young people would come to me and say something like, "We belong to the Komosmols, but we want to know what it says in the Bible, let us read it." I consider this normal, this is how it ought to be; narrow-mindedness, no matter how expressed, is far from being the best human characteristic.

"Our recent history shows that during the war Stalin called in three church figures and asked them to "resurrect the church." It is no secret that many priests were repressed—Stalin brought those who were still alive back from exile. War—suffering and death, are the greatest desecration of mankind and its worth, and some kind of "alternative" was required to keep up spirits, to help

people endure the inhuman conditions. The church could become this kind of spiritual shelter. Moreover, tanks and "Katyushas" were built from resources donated by the church.

"I do not like politics. Its ends and means do not come from what is human in people, from their souls, but often from the worst characteristics of our nature.

We must start with the world we are given, but we must do all we can to transform it. The times we live in hold much promise. Many changes have taken place in our country, but the main thing in any time is the correspondence between the real and the true. If we follow this principle then the promises will not be empty. Many people have had their good names restored, the slogan "all in the name of mankind" no longer grates on the nerves because of its hypocrisy.

"And yet—as is the case here, they still do not 'listen to' people. But it is not the business of the church to criticize the world. Our mission is to bless and to help, in whatever way we can. Now we have made a specific proposal—to transfer the orphanages, some hospitals and old-age homes to the church. Our orphans, sick, and old have the hardest fate of all, because the very idea of helping the unfortunate has been turned into its opposite—casting these people out of society. I have visited asylums (if you will allow me to call them this) and hospitals and each time I have had difficulty coming to myself after all I have seen. I am not speaking of the poverty there, it is the spiritual climate that is so horrifying. After all, we should love the children and the sick and sacrifice ourselves for them! I am asked 'What normal person would make such sacrifices?' And I answer that people with light in their souls, with a spiritual vocation should do this; those for whom sacrificing their lives for others is the natural mode of existence."

"Excuse me, do you know many such people?"

"Quite a few, judging by my parish, both the young and older people long for such work. Jesus said, 'What ye have done it unto least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

It would be a good thing if a single mother or father could be assigned to, let us say, every ten orphans; a parent who would cry with them and rejoice with them, would braid their hair, and sing them lullabies. They would live as if they were at home. If this were to happen we would not lose so many people—their souls, minds, hands.

Once I gave a woman a ride in my car. She "spoke frankly," saying "Oh, I really beat it out of them in the orphanage, I beat it out of them." And she went on and on like that. I remained silent, but when she got out I said to her, "I am a pastor and I think that you are in the wrong place."

A child growing up without love is like a flower that never sees the sun. We took an orphan boy into our home for a time. It was obvious how his child's heart rejoiced. And then we had to take back—my God, it is painful to remember.

"Some people of the church went to the government with a request to have the orphanages and hospitals transferred to us. There are an enormous number of obstacles. First of all, the statute forbidding religious propaganda has still not been repealed. Secondly, the question of financing is still unclear. They say that the church must finance these "measures" themselves. Of course, we do not refuse, but without a state subsidy we simply do not have the means. And there is much more of the same sort. And all the while time is passing."

"And the problem is complicated by the fact that with our "constantly increasing" standard of living, the unfortunates, both children and adults, keep growing in number. In the telling words of one of the heroes of the dramatic story by B. Vasilyev, 'Who do you belong to, old man?' the worldwide wind is blowing everything out of our life.' Does not this remark, however primitively, reflect a kind of 'general heartlessness'?"

"You have brought up a very painful topic. I am extremely disturbed by the fact that people are unhappy, that every second family in Latvia breaks up, that the 'main blow' in this situation falls on the children. The wrong things have been stressed in their upbringing and these broken families are the result. We are rearing egoists, who enter into marriage only for their own personal benefit. Thus there is no love. After all love is continual self-sacrifice. A loving person is only happy when the one he loves is happy, and not because of his own personal advantage. A family, as it should be, is a single entity: I understand you because what is yours is mine. They say, 'I love you,' but I would put it differently, 'I love myself in you.' And, pardon me, but I do not understand how it is possible to be unhappily married. A mistake? But a loving heart is perspicacious and cannot be mistaken."

Pastor Kalnynsh has four children. His three daughters are married and the youngest, the buoyant, round-faced Roland, is still in school. There are grandchildren. And there is that which we have practically ceased to expect—a wholesome "healing" atmosphere in the home.

I will allow myself to express a seditious thought: atheistic upbringing should not be total, should not "reign." After all it not only denies access to a certain realm of knowledge, but limits the spiritual striving of the individual. My generation was brought up in atheism and to have an attitude of ignorant arrogance to everything 'churchly.' Now, as never before, one feels that, because of this, we have lost much of our love for people and our spirituality, that more and more we are possessed by unease and vanity. It has become increasingly difficult to

find a person who will listen to you with attention and sympathy and offer truly wise advice. For churchmen this is a profession—saving souls and the world.

Such characteristics as patience and tolerance are not alien to man. Unfortunately, in our education they occupy the most modest of positions. We are supposed to be active, efficient, forceful "accelerators," etc. Any other type of nature, although it is tolerated, occupies a "second class" position. Everyone strives for the stereotypes, often going against their own grain, so that people do not have qualities of peace and calm, or such notably fragile qualities as contemplativeness.

Of course, I could not resist asking Kharald Karlovich what he thought of conditions today in Latvia.

"I do not belong to any of the fronts—I have my own front. But, there is no doubt that the ideas of the People's Front are wholesome—after all, without awareness and respect for the national, there cannot be true internationalism. But this does not mean that the other nationalities should leave, future policies with regard to migration still must be worked out. I am for the development of the cultures of all ethnic groups living here, all faiths. The main thing is not to violate the moral laws, and God forbid, not to fall into extremism. When our hearts cannot live otherwise than according to the laws of morality, then many problems of the life of society will disappear.

Frankly speaking, I was embarrassed to take the time of such a busy person. That is, I knew how much Kharald Karlovich had to do, but he gave no indication. We simply sat and chatted over a cup of coffee, it was warm and comfortable, without any feeling of pressure. And yet at any moment the pastor had to go to the Lutheran Church of Christ, and his piano and desk were piled high with letters from all over the world, which he had to answer, and the next day he was going to Moscow to the Council on Religious Matters. And in addition this person is entitled to be called "your Grace," although he himself doesn't like it at all when he is so addressed. "I am in no way holier than others," says the pastor. Even Christ and his Apostles did not place themselves above those who served them."

As I was leaving, I asked Kharald Karlovich what he would like to wish our readers.

"Peace, peace in the soul."

#### **LiSSR Officials, Religious Leaders Discuss Foreign Travel, Exchanges**

*18000773b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
21 Mar 89 p 1*

[ELTA report: "A Meeting With the High Clergy"]

[Text] Vilnius—Today at the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, comrades A. Brazauskas, V. Astrauskas, V. Sakalauskas, and V. Baltrunas met with high clergy of

the Lithuanian Catholic Church, the Lithuanian Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Lithuanian Orthodox Church; the chairman of the Bishop's Conference of Lithuania, recently ordained Archbishop of Kaunas, Cardinal Vintsentas Sladkyavichyus; the newly ordained Archbishop of Vilnius, Yulionas Steponavichyus; bishops Yuozapas Matulaytis, Vladas Mikhelyavichyus, Yuozas Preykshas, Yuozapas Zhemaytis; prelates Kazimeras Dulksnis and Algirdas Gutauskas; the Archbishop of Vilnius and of the Lithuanian Orthodox Church, Viktorin; and the chairman of the Consistory of the Lithuanian Evangelical Lutheran Church, archbishop Ionas Kalvanas.

Participants in the meeting included: the Deputy Chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, P. Ignotas; the director of the ideological section of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Yu. Paletskis; the commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers for the Lithuanian SSR, K. Va'anchyus; the chairman of the High Old Believers Council of Lithuania, Ivan Isayevich Yegorov, the rector of the Kaunass Interdiocese Seminary, professor Viktoras Butkus; and the editor of the publication "Catholic World," father Vatslovas Alyulis.

At the beginning of the meeting, V. Sakalauskas congratulated the religious leaders on being named archbishops and bishops by the Pope and on their new positions, and wished them health and success in their pastoral activity, expressing confidence that future relations between the state and the church would continue to develop in the spirit of amicable mutual understanding. In the last and current years alone, resolutions have been adopted to build or restore 11 churches. In so far as possible, the government is attempting to satisfy the desires of believers of all faiths. In the future, the government will continue to work toward this goal, striving for benevolent collaboration, and constructive resolution of problems.

Thanking him for his good wishes, Cardinal V. Sladkyavichyus noted that they were delighted with the appreciable changes in attitude toward the clergy. We sense that the government sincerely desire us to perform our missions successfully and to resolve the problems that we encounter honorably. We are ready, said the cardinal, to place even greater emphasis on what unites us and to promote the renewal of the people and enrichment of their culture and morality however we can.

During the discussion it was made clear that obligations accepted in the past are being fulfilled; economic issues were discussed. New desires were also expressed concerning the establishment and renovation of monasteries, seminaries, and other facilities and about publication, especially about paper supply. It became clear that certain problems were already being solved, and promises were made to look into others. The desires expressed that clergy be allowed to travel abroad to increase their

knowledge, and also be permitted to invite highly qualified teachers of theology to come here were favorably received. There was an exchange of opinions on how instruction in scriptures could be organized without infringing on freedom of conscience. ?? The question of providing certain personnel with religious old age homes?? was raised and what was being done in this area and what would be decided was explained. The participants in the meeting approved an idea previously voiced by the cardinal that activities that are noisy and disturb the peace should not be permitted in the immediate vicinity of Arkhikafedral Cathedral.

A. Brazauskas spoke of the extremely important issues of social and political life that at the present time are being decided by the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the government of the republic; he spoke in detail of the measures being undertaken to aid families with many children, and to improve social security. It was noted that social aid funds are being created from the dues paid by labor collectives and other fees. Perhaps the clergy too ought to support and popularize this idea. We feel that the church supports actions directed at the good of individuals and mankind and are grateful for this.

The leaders of the republic wished the high clergy and, through them, all the believers of Lithuania a happy Easter.

#### **Academic on Overcoming Anti-Internationalism in Islamic Community**

18300558 *Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA*  
in Russian 28 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by M. Annanurov, scientific associate of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy and Law Department: "The National and the International in Atheism"]

[Text] Any contraposition of people on the basis of their national, racial, or religious affiliation is contrary to scientific atheism. On the contrary, it is waging an irreconcilable struggle against everything that hinders the rapprochement and cooperation of peoples and internationalization. However, religious vestiges often become intertwined with nationalism, hindering the processes of development and rapprochement of the Soviet nations and peoples. The propagandistic activity of the clergy exhibits a tendency toward increasingly insinuating to our fellow citizens the notions that, in fulfilling certain norms of the past and religious rites, a person proves his affiliation to one people or another. Muslim rites are proclaimed to be "national": "Uzbek", "Kazakh", "Azerbaijani", "Kirghiz", "Tajik", "Turkmen", "Tatar", etc.



In orthodox Islam, however, the national question is viewed differently. For example, nationality and national affiliation are not recognized. Rather, the concept of a "unified Muslim community"—"ummati Islam", is presented. Thus, the notion is presented that Islam bears a national character by its very nature.

Islamic ideology does not recognize the division of society into classes. Thus, class contradictions and class struggle are extinguished.

The idea of the "unity of the Muslims" has served as the point of departure for two forms of nationalism—Pan-Islavism and regional "Muslim nationalism".

An important task of political enlightenment work remains the development of national and international consciousness. In the process of formulating and strengthening national relations, equal rights, trust and mutual respect have been created. All this signifies full equal rights of the nations and peoples of a country, their free development within the framework of the fraternal union, and on this basis their rapprochement. The full realization of this process requires the continued upbringing of the Soviet people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, as well as a deep-seated recognition of the common interests of all the USSR peoples.

For the sake of fairness, we must note that the old lifestyles have been retained in the republic. The following factors play a great role in this: First of all, a large portion of the native population lives in rural areas; Secondly, for various reasons many women and girls are not engaged in socially significant labor; Thirdly, the native population is particularly tied to the old customs, rites and traditions; Fourth, there is weak mutual influence of Russian culture and a language barrier for most of the native population living in the rural areas.

At the current stage, under conditions of striving toward the liberalization of relations and the assimilation of new thought, the local party organizations and workers on the ideological front, in my opinion, are not performing adequate work in combatting the manifestations of nationalism, localism, feudal-bai [landowner] morals, patriarchal-tribal customs, and religious vestiges. The people often try to preserve outdated traditions and notions and promote national isolation. Even certain leaders among the intelligentsia adhere to the old norms under the guise of preserving the national spiritual heritage.

The current Turkmen village significantly lags behind the city in the level of development of productive forces. To this day there is almost no industry here, except for singular processing enterprises. This does not stimulate the emergence of new professions and preserves the low professional-production level.

There are serious gaps in the activity of the social-cultural institutions.

The lessons of the past show that if the principles of social justice are violated, then adherence to localism, clannishness, nepotism, and association of countrymen is increased. All this also gives rise to undesirable phenomena in national relations.

The exacerbation [of national relations] is manifested also by unrest in the religious sphere. In the period of religious holidays kurban- bayram, the monthly fast (uraz), there are heightened religious sentiments, and an atmosphere of a certain national alienation among part of the population is created.

The spiritual leaders use the age-old means of religious-traditional influence to sway the consciousness of the faithful through emotions, preaching and missionary work. There is already a tendency toward the modernization of traditional religious activity and toward filling it with new content. This allows it to become involved in the comprehensive process of socialism and to try to bring closer together the ideas of socialism and the Islamic principles.

Muslim morality includes in its propaganda those moral standards which from time immemorial were borrowed from the rich arsenal of all-human morality. They are proclaimed to be national attributes and a moral obligation, the duty of the Muslim.

In the international and atheist process, we must develop the ability to approach from class positions any national problems in their historical and current aspect. We must wage an active and aggressive struggle against nationalist sentiments, feudal-bai mores, ancestral-tribal traditions, and religious prejudices which have a negative effect on the development of national self-awareness. Under the conditions of perestroika, the spiritual values of nations and peoples are being discussed in all spheres, specifically those which facilitate the strengthening of inter-ethnic relations, which under conditions of socialism bears the character of real equal rights, and which the history of mankind did not know up until now.

The military-patriotic upbringing of the student youth and the international significance of labor deserve serious attention in the republic. On the basis of three farms—the "40 Years of the TuSSR" Kolkhoz in Tashauzskiy rayon, the Kolkhoz imeni Narimanov in Bagamskiy rayon of Khorezm oblast, and the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Khodzheyliyskiy rayon of the Karakalpak ASSR, a school of leading experience has been formed. The farms compete with each other in all directions of economic, social and cultural development, strengthening the international ties and enriching each other's experience.

In the very same Tashauz oblast, the party and social organizations and the women's councils are performing work on increasing the labor and socio-political activity of women, and on organizing the struggle against vestiges of the past. Yet the negative factors which exist in reality

are not yet viewed as extraordinary, and do not always receive strict party evaluation. As a result, there are still cases of criminal activity stemming from vestiges of the past. There has been an increase observed in such types of crimes as kidnapping of girls, marriage to minors, and rape. Kalym [bride-money] is practiced almost openly.

There are representatives of over 70 nations and peoples living in Mary oblast. For this region, the questions of developing inter-ethnic relations and international upbringing of the population are more than current. The violations of principles of social justice and standards of socialist morality, and the negative phenomena in economics and in the resolution of the cadre questions which were allowed during the years of stagnation present a serious hindrance here. This has prompted a number of management workers and the politically immature segment of the population to assume an attitude of national exclusiveness, aloofness, and disregard for the needs and aspirations of individual groups of the population of non-native nationality.

Today religion serves as the ideological basis for the patriarchal order of life and has a negative effect on social processes. The work which is being performed in this direction has not yet yielded the desired results. This means that we must redouble our common efforts.

**Kazi Of Turkmenistan Praises Perestroyka**  
18350013b

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 8 January 1989 carries on page 3 a 1200 word interview with Imam Kazi Nasrullo Ibadullayev, spiritual leader of the Muslims of Turkmenistan, on Islam after perestroyka. The interview also provides biographical information on the Kazi. Thirty-nine years old, he was raised in a religious family in which he learned Arabic and studied the Koran. After graduating from secondary school, he fulfilled his military service,

and then completed theological studies at the Mirarap madrasa in Bukhara, the Tashkent Islamic Institute, and the University of Al-Azhar in Cairo. He has also made the hajj. In his interview, he mentioned that the celebration of the millenium of Russia's acceptance of Christianity marked a turning point in church-state relations in the Soviet Union. In his discussion of the impact of perestroyka and glasnost, he noted that "perestroyka interests those who come to the mosque and they talk often about its reviving effect. I, like other imams in mosques, often talk about it in my sermons. Who cannot discuss perestroyka? After all, we have to go with the flow of life." He also stressed that there is a young, "highly educated" group of Muslim clergy coming into power; at the same time, he criticizes "most pseudomollas" for their ignorance of Islam. He adds, however, that "official religious representatives are still unable to serve all religious believers, especially those in distant places. In one of my articles I talked about the good experience collected in Uzbekistan on attracting mollas able to perform religious services to this work. I think this experience could be used in places where there are no mosques."

**Official Imam Criticizes 'Pseudomollas'**  
18350013f

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 22 January 1989 carries on page 3 a 300 word unsigned report headlined "Leader of Mosques at School" on the visit of Imam Nasrulla Ibadullayev, official leader of the TSSR mosques, to a school in Kalinin Rayon for a visit with students and teachers. "Pseudomollas who do not refrain from cheating the people in their own self-interest, who do not distinguish between virtue and vice, who do not even understand genuine religious views and cannot tell the difference between good deeds and sins were strongly criticized at this meeting." The imam also criticized the institution of brideprice and stressed the obligation of "every individual" to keep the cemeteries clean.

**BSSR Administrative Law Code Amended**  
18000940 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 4 Apr 89 p 1

[Article: "In the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] On 31 March the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet adopted an Ukase whereby it introduced amendments and changes in the BSSR Code on Administrative Law Violations. This act is directed primarily at interdicting such negative phenomena as speculation, violations of the trade regulations and the dissemination of printed publications, the illegal sale by citizens of goods or other objects at prices which exceed the state retail prices in effect on them, etc.

Article 144 on violations by employees at trade and public-dining enterprises of trade regulations have been amended in part by the second following point: "The sale of goods from warehouses, bases, from auxiliary areas of enterprises (organizations) of trade or public dining, as well as the concealment of goods from customers by employees of enterprises (organizations) of trade or public dining,—shall entail the imposition of a fine in the amount of 50 rubles, and on officials—from 50 to 100 rubles." This norm will allow us to react effectively to cases where trade and public-dining employees violate the established procedure for selling goods. Moreover, in order to hold persons responsible for these acts, it is not required that there be proof of self-seeking or some other personal motivation on the part of the trade employee. It is sufficient to establish the fact of the violation in and by itself.

Article 148 on trade in nonestablished places is amended by the third part with the following passage: "Trade in industrial goods by hand in nonestablished places—shall entail a warning or the imposition of a fine in an amount ranging up to 50 rubles." Persons shall be held responsible for these actions who trade in industrial goods from their hands on streets, plazas, in squares, near stores, in the courtyards of enterprises, in underground passageways, the entrance-ways to houses, and other unauthorized places. Places where trade in industrial goods by hand is permitted shall be determined by the ispolkoms of the local Soviets.

An important amendment to the code is the inclusion within it of a new Article 148<sup>2</sup>, which establishes administrative responsibility for the illegal sale of goods or other objects. This article is aimed at interdicting the actions of those persons desiring to "warm their hands a bit" at the difference in price in connection with the shortage of goods. The redaction of this article is as follows:

"The illegal sale by citizens of goods or other objects not produced by them at prices which exceed the state retail prices on these goods or other objects,—shall entail a warning or the imposition of a fine in an amount ranging up to 100 rubles with the confiscation of the items being trade.

Those same actions, when committed by a person who during the course of a year was subjected to an administrative penalty for the above-indicated violation,—shall entail the imposition of a fine ranging in amount from 100 to 200 rubles with the confiscation of the items being traded or corrective labor for a period of from one to two months with the retention of 20 percent of wages and with the confiscation of the items being traded.

The responsibility for petty speculation has been strengthened. Now the redaction of Article 149 reads as follows: "Buying up and reselling the following items in relatively small quantities with the aim of making an excessive profit: vodka and other alcoholic beverages, consumer goods, agricultural products, cash-register and goods coupons, tickets to shows and other undertakings, books, sheet music, phonograph records, tape- and video-cassettes, and other valuable items, if the amount of the profit does not exceed 100 rubles,—shall entail the imposition of a fine in the amount of 100 rubles with the confiscation of the items being speculated with.

These same actions committed by a person who in the course of a year was subjected to administrative penalty for the above-indicated violation,—shall entail the imposition of a fine in an amount ranging from 100 to 200 rubles with the confiscation of the items being speculated with, or corrective labor for a period of from one to two months with the retention of 20 percent of wages and the confiscation of the items being speculated with."

The Code has been amended by a new Article 167<sup>2</sup> having the following contents:

**ARTICLE 167<sup>2</sup>. The illegal use of flags and pennants, the manufacture, dissemination, or carrying of posters, emblems, or symbols**

The use in public places of flags and pennants which have not been registered in the authorized procedure, as well as the manufacture, dissemination, or carrying of posters, emblems, or symbols whose contents are directed at causing harm to the state and public order, the rights and legitimate interests of citizens,—shall entail a warning or the imposition of a fine on citizens in the amount of up to 50 rubles and a warning or the imposition of a fine on officials ranging up to 100 rubles with the confiscation of these items."



For the purpose of instituting orderly procedures in the use of duplicating equipment, the observance of the regulations for manufacturing and disseminating printed materials, amendments were made to Article 172. The redaction of this article is as follows:

**"ARTICLE 172. Violation of the regulations for opening printing and stamping-engraving enterprises, for obtaining, marketing, utilizing, accounting, and storing duplicating equipment. Illegal dissemination of printed materials.**

Violation by officials of the regulations for opening printing and stamping-engraving enterprises, obtaining and marketing printing equipment, duplicating apparatus, type, and matrixes,—shall entail the imposition of a fine in an amount of up to 100 rubles.

Violation of regulations for the utilization, accounting, and storage of printing equipment, duplicating apparatus, types, and matrixes by persons responsible for the observance of these regulations,—shall entail the imposition of a fine in an amounting of up to 50 rubles.

Dissemination of printed materials manufactured in violation of the established procedure and not having production data, whose contents are directed at causing harm to the state and public order, the rights and legitimate interests of citizens,—shall entail a warning or the imposition of a fine of up to 50 rubles with the confiscation of these materials."

As is known, the procedure for opening and operating a printing or stamping-engraving enterprise, as well as for obtaining and utilizing duplicating equipment, is regulated by acts of the government and USSR Goskomizdat. Thus, for example, the responsibilities of printing enterprises by way of providing paid services to the population can include making the following items: book-plates, congratulatory and anniversary cards with individualized texts, invitations to family celebrations, name-bearing paper-cases, notebooks, and photo-albums, without registering the above-mentioned materials or providing information about the customer involved.

USSR Goskomstandart has established output data for publishing production. They must contain the date on which the originals were submitted to be set in type and when the material was signed to press; the registration number; the format of the paper and proportion of the sheet; the grade and number of the paper; the set of type used for the main text; the method of printing; the size of the edition; the circulation; data about the authors and the name of the publishing organization, the place of printing, the price or the indication "Free," etc. Depending upon the kind of edition involved, the size of the publishing data can be changed. Thus, in the case of calendars and programs, the only things indicated are the name of the publishing organization, the place of printing, the order number, circulation, price or indication "Free."

The Ukase has also changed the third part of Article 242 of the Code concerning the time periods of administrative arrest of persons who have committed violations of administrative laws. In accordance with its new redaction, "Persons who have committed petty hooliganism, violations of the organizational proceedings and the conduct of assemblies, meetings, street marches and demonstrations, who have illegally sold goods or other objects, or engaged in petty speculation can be held until their cases are tried by a people's judge or the chief (or deputy chief) of an internal affairs organ."

The Ukase which has been adopted will facilitate the strengthening of law and order in our republic.

#### **Anti-Corruption Drive Continues in AzSSR**

*18000943 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
7 Apr 89 p 3*

[Report by A. Eberlin: "Press Conference at Azerbaijan SSR MVD: A Special-Purpose Team"]

[Text] The name of militia Colonel Aslanbek Aslakhanov has become widely known in connection with an extraordinary event which took place last week at Baku's airport. He was among those who came into direct contact with the criminal who attempted to hijack an Aeroflot aircraft; and, in a display of boldness and professional mastery, he managed to render him harmless. But Aslakhanov found himself in the capture team by will of fate. His work is connected with other responsibilities, requiring not so much instant reaction and the use of the means of combat, as with a penchant toward in-depth analysis and the ability to deal with complex economic problems. Aslakhanov is the leader of a BKhSS [Struggle with Theft of Socialist Property and Speculation] team [brigada] from the USSR MVD, which has been working in the republic since August of last year, trying to solve the problem of the struggle with organized crime. The activity of the team is of great interest, and has given rise to various rumors and conjecture—which is inevitable, given a lack of information. And so, the republic MVD acted properly in inviting journalists to its headquarters for an open discussion.

Aslakhanov began the discussion with a description of the work of his team and the operational situation in the republic. We shall attempt to single out the main points of his story, and his answers to questions from the journalists.

During the years of the "red-banner five-year plans," the republic's shadow economy grew by leaps and bounds; corruption put down deep roots, and the scale of crimes of avarice grew to threatening dimensions. News of this was sent to the USSR MVD in years past; but, unfortunately, at that time it did not receive a proper response. Several years ago an attempt was undertaken to send a team of experienced officials to the republic, but "something" interfered with it.

At present the situation has fundamentally changed. Life itself and the tasks of perestroika demand that the economy be purged of criminal elements; that an active offensive be waged against smart operators and extortioners; and that the people's faith in social justice be restored.

For this purpose, the USSR MVD sent a special team to the republic, which includes over 100 officials of the BKhSS service and the investigative staff. The team's primary task, Aslakhonov stressed, is to render practical assistance to the republic Internal Affairs organs in organizing the struggle with crimes of avarice. Thus, the team is not operating in isolation, but in close interaction with the republic's Internal Affairs services.

"We had to start almost from scratch," said Aslanbek Akhmedovich. "Of course, we had general information and a certain amount of intelligence; but that was altogether inadequate. Currently we have already compiled an extensive data bank, which permits us to carry out consistent, in-depth work. Through the efforts of the team, in conjunction with the republic MVD officials, more than 300 crimes have already been exposed; moreover, in the widest variety of spheres. One group from the team is occupied with academic and health care institutions. Several people have been arrested already for bribe-taking—officials at tekhikums, vocational-technical institutions [PTU], and a Teacher's Postgraduate Institute."

The names of those who were arrested were read at the press-conference. But I think that they should not be made public prior to pronouncement of sentence by the court.

Every day dozens of citizens of the republic appeal to the team's leadership, reporting what is often very important information. It should be stressed that many complaints about theft and extortion come from construction organizations and oil-extraction administrations. All signals are carefully checked out; many of them have permitted exposing serious crimes. To be specific, one of the responsible officials of the Vysotzhilstroy [High-rise Housing Construction] Trust was arrested while taking bribes; theft was exposed at the Azbytremstroy [Azerbaijan Consumer Repair and Construction] SRSU [possibly, special repair and construction administration] and at the cafeteria of PTU No 17, where the chief had pocketed 10,000 rubles in less than three months.

Investigation of major group cases is on-going as well. These have been mentioned in the press to one degree or another; particularly a case of major thefts in the Sportovary [Sporting Goods] RORO [not further identified]. Here workers at a number of stores had been drawn into a criminal association, trading in spare parts for the Zhiguli automobile; the ties reached to VAZ [Volga Motor Works] itself, from which the hard-to-get articles were sent to Baku. From here the chain stretches into eight regions of the country. An investigation is also

under way at the AvtoVAZtekhobsluzhivanie [Volga Motor Vehicle Technical Service] Center; serious abuses were uncovered in Apsheronskiy Rayon, where persons have already been taken into custody. And a major theft amounting to several million rubles was disclosed at the Kutkashen Tobacco Combine.

We could go on with the list, but there is hardly any need for such a cursory listing; and, I think that in time we shall be able to talk about the major cases in detail.

Are there difficulties in the work of the team? Yes, and a number of them. Whereas on the one hand it enjoys the continuous support and leadership of both the republic and the populace—on the other, it also experiences considerable amount of resistance, both overt and covert. Blackmail and threats go on; often people are so scared that they refuse to testify, and at times one cannot even find enough information to conduct an investigation. Collective guarantees are strong as well. But, in spite of all this, the team will continue its work as long as it is necessary. After all, its chief task is to expose the hidden springs of the shadow economy and expose the true organizers of crime. The task is complex, but Aslakhonov and his colleagues believe that they have grounds to count on its successful conclusion.

The author of these lines happened to hear some ironic conversations about the fact that the "Muscovites" were not giving trade any peace, checking the stores and, they say, occupying themselves with petty matters and so on. I heard an unexpected answer to this question at the press conference. It was officially announced that the team does not engage in petty checks on the trade system. It's simply that it is advantageous to someone to spread such rumors. Another thing is known: Swindlers have been discovered, visiting stores and cafeterias in the guise of a member of the team. Forces must be diverted for this also. The other day one such "operativnik" was arrested, trying to demand a bribe from a saleswoman at a water kiosk. He turned out to be a junior scientific associate at one of the institutes of the Academy of Sciences. The data indicates that he was not the only one.

The soil in which such swindlers flourish is the total lack of respect for justice among a large part of the public, which took root from the sad experience of years past in the form of fear, on the part of trade workers, of representatives of all kinds of commissions. If the moral consciousness of the people cannot be awakened, if we cannot implant faith in their own powers, it will be hard to ensure that they are not robbed and humiliated. We must, of course, solve this problem together.

Incidentally, certain militia officers also take advantage of the legal ignorance of the populace, especially in the rural areas—illegally closing cases on plunderers and stiff-arming those who would give testimony. I must speak frankly: at the press conference quite a few critical remarks were heard about workers of the BKhSS organs of republic Internal Affairs. True, it was noted that

among them there are experienced specialists, devoted to their cause, who render great assistance to the team. But if one were to rate them in general, it would be unsatisfactory. The BKhSS staff, it was stressed, has become littered with unskilled, incompetent, and simply random people, who got there by virtue of a phone-call and patronage. The situation in the rayon departments is especially depressing, where there are officials who do not even know the fundamentals of operational work.

"And in general, I would say," resumed Aslakhanov, "that the BKhSS service has been operating just as the former republic leadership had arranged."

The BKhSS staff is currently undergoing rehabilitation, and the specialists from the Union MVD are striving to pass on their experience to our comrades during the course of their work. Thus, there is real hope to expect concrete results.

Senior Judicial Counselor Aleksandr Morozov of the USSR General Procuracy, who investigates especially important cases, made an interesting report. He described how the investigation is going on a number of major cases, and in particular on the case of a group of bribe-takers and plunderers, which for many years has been active in the republic's system of the Ministry of Motor Transport.

I would like to call attention to one important circumstance. Over a long period of time, the republic law-enforcement organs have been doing everything they could to suppress the signals about the scandals in the transport sector. A group of honest officials who grew tired of the system of extortions, has been carefully trying to achieve justice. And it took the arrival of the team from the USSR MVD and Procuracy for the secrets to come out. Once again the idea of social justice is heard; and the need to strengthen the people's faith in the triumph of Law and Order—moreover, not in words, but in deeds.

E. Khasmamedov, chief of the republic MVD Political Department, summed up the results of the press-conference. He stated that the ministry has now taken a firm course toward expanding glasnost, and that such meetings with journalists would become regular. Everyone will profit from this.

#### **Suicide in Labor-Treatment Camp Provokes Demonstration**

18300551 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 6 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by A. Akaba, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent: "What Is Happening There, Beyond the Fence..."]

[Text] On the evening of 30-31 March those residents of Ust-Kamenogorsk who suffer from insomnia could have seen a strange procession moving toward the center of

the city. Those in front carried a body on a stretcher and the others walked behind them. Having arrived at the soviet of peoples deputies oblast ispolkom [executive committee] building, the procession's participants demanded a meeting with the leaders of party and soviet organs.

Just what had occurred?

A patient from one of the municipal LTP's [Labor-Treatment Camps] hung himself on this evil night. (Why he resorted to this severe step is still being investigated.) His death shocked his associates. They went out through the gates and headed, as we have already stated, toward the center of the city.

During the conversation which took place on the city square, complaints, expressed by the patients, were heard. They were told that a special commission has been formed which will immediately begin analyzing their complaints and investigating the causes of the suicide. The patients held a moment of silence in memory of their comrade, gave his body to the medical workers, and made the return trip in the same manner in which they had arrived. This is the factual side of this occurrence.

I repeat, the hour was late and there turned out to be few eye-witnesses of the late-night occurrence. And the most varied rumors began to circulate about these events. Just a few years ago, these rumors would have fed fantasies for a long time. But today glasnost is actually becoming a standard of our lives. A journalist was included on the commission—so that he could ask general questions raised by the patients. Such questions, for example, as the legality of the course of treatment and methods of this treatment, wages, use of patients in work in accordance with their skills, and the system of [patient] care at the LTP. One of the demands set forth by the patients was replacement of the head of the institution and a portion of the medical personnel. They also demanded repeal of the required camp uniform.

The commission has yet to answer all of these and other questions but today it is already clear that glaring deficiencies in the work of camp personnel created a tense situation in the camp. Their actions will be given an appropriate appraisal. At the same time, we must say that the existing regulations of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] USSR regulating patient care at labor-treatment camps require review and revision. LTP's should actually become medical institutions. There must be public control of the process of getting there and of the treatment itself. It is time to remove the curtain of secrecy from everything that goes on in these institutions.

Today labor-treatment camps hardly remind one of medical institutions. For certain alcoholics, they are like a native home. Not having succeeded in "being cured," these people repeat the "health recovery" course over



and over again. So tell me, just what is the result of such treatment? Does "work education," which such hospitals conduct at construction sites and industrial enterprises, also not help... And if we also take into account that really effective means against alcoholism have still not been devised in the world, then this question needs to be asked: Are we treating these people or are we isolating them from society by stretching barbed wire around the labor-treatment camp? We must also certainly consider that such isolation is not good for, but is harmful for, someone we are trying to be good to.

This alarming situation, which has produced this reaction in Ust-Kamenogorsk, says that everything is not right with the patient treatment system at the LTP. It needs to be changed so that it answers the processes which are occurring in the country. Compulsory alcoholism treatment institutes are surely needed since not everyone who wants to part company with the "green snake" can do this by himself. We need to help such people. But, at the same time, we need to remember that they are people, too.

#### **Law Enforcement Organs Sharply Criticized** 18350013g

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 25 January 1989 carries on page 1 a 400 word Turkmeninform report headlined "Seminar Held at TSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs" at which the restructuring of MVD work was discussed. Reports by V. A. Grin, Minister of Internal Affairs, and B. Dovletov, chief of the MVD Political Department, pointed out that "measures taken by law enforcement organs have not met the demands of party and government. The general number of crimes has increased, and serious crime and theft of state and private property have proliferated. The exposure and investigation of crimes have shown no improvement. The effectiveness of preventing criminality among teenagers and legal violations due to drunkenness is low. Shortcomings in crime prevention and compliance with socialist legality are as before. Abuses by MVD workers remain as serious as before; namely, the cover-up of crimes, falsification of data, violations of investigation guidelines and illegal imprisonment of individuals are still being allowed."

#### **Public Opinion Poll on Political, Economic, Social Issues**

18300512 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian No 13, 29 Mar 89 p 12

[Article by members of the working group of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion A.Golov, A.Grazhdankin, L.Gudkov, B.Dubin, N.Zorkaya, Yu.Levada, A.Levinson and L.Sedov: "What Do We Think: Early Results of the Opinion Poll of Our Readers 'Society 1988-Society 1989'" under the "Sociology" rubric; first two paragraphs are italicized introduction; last paragraph editorial comment]

[Text] As has already been reported, the "What Do You Think?" questionnaire published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's February 1 issue elicited enormous

response. A flood of replies, numbering several thousand per day, temporarily upset the routine of both the post office and the letter department at the newspaper, and later of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Issues (VTsIOM). In the end, sociologists got a mass of data they had never had before.

Today, we publish a very general preliminary survey of the material. In the future, the VTsIOM will carry out a more detailed study.

So, we received almost 200,000 responses. Considering that many of them were filled out not by one person but by all family members and entire labor collectives, it appears that one out of 30 LITERATURNAYA GAZETA subscribers replied.

To be frank, we never expected such a fury of responses. What is the reason for this? First of all, it is the pent-up desire to express oneself and to be heard. The very fact that the questions were asked touched a responsive cord in those to whom they were addressed. (The following notes on the margins of questionnaires are typical: "Finally someone is asking us substantive questions" or "Thank you for your informal interest".) While it is flattering to read such comments, we realize that the poll's success is in a large measure due to the hunger for referendums that appeared in our society. Readers saw not only a chance to speak out but a direct way to solve major socioeconomic problems. At the same time, the response to the poll suggests that our society is still short of other active forms of expression for civic consciousness.

Who did reply to those 34 questions which had over 400 possible answers? One way or another, the respondents came from every region of the country.

Most active were readers in Moscow and Leningrad who together comprised 21 percent of respondents, and least active in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, at 4 percent. In general, dominant were respondents from the European central part (26 percent), the Ukraine (19 percent) and Siberia (9 percent). Among the respondents, only 2 percent were younger than 20 years of age, and relatively few, or 9 percent, were elderly (60 and older); most were in the 30-39 age group (35 percent). Other ages were represented as follows: the 21-24 group at 5 percent, the 25-29 group at 13 percent, the 40-49 group at 19 percent and the 50-59 group at 17 percent. Most respondents were college-educated.

In part, these results reflect the makeup of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's readership, but not exclusively. Civic maturity, as is well-known, comes with age and education, which also increase man's self-consciousness and, up to a certain age, social activity. It is natural that the poll's results reflect a plurality of views which is more typical for the most mature and potentially socially

active part of our readership. This observation is also corroborated by the fact that a large proportion of respondents are involved in the political life of the country.

Only 1 percent of respondents checked off "not interested in politics" or "do not know anything about politics". (Although some 60 percent believe that they are unable to influence political developments.)

This paradoxical combination of "interested in" and "understand" with "can not influence" politics is a characteristic feature of the current state of our civic consciousness. It has awoken and makes itself heard, but it is not always ready to be realized in practice. Only one tenth of respondents said that they always participate in sociopolitical life, and 7 percent replied that for them "this opportunity has only now become available".

It is worth noting that even though it was not required, over 40 percent of respondents gave their return address, thus raising their personal responsibility for their opinions. And 33 percent replied that they had had to defend their views at party and union meetings. The fact that 28 percent have had occasion "to sign collective protests or appeals" is also noteworthy. Some 22 percent had written to the newspaper before. Nine percent participated in meetings of debating clubs, societies, etc.; 4 percent in rallies (excluding official holiday ones) and 3 percent spoke at rallies and are active in new public organizations.

In the opinion of the absolute majority of respondents last year was difficult for them personally and for the country as a whole. While optimists and pessimists were split almost evenly and together made up about one half of respondents, the majority assumed a cautious wait-and-see attitude.

Generally speaking, the majority oscillates between hope and alarm. They have doubts and fears, much bitterness, expectations and a complex range of feelings and moods caused by the reassessment of our historic accomplishments and long-held ideas, as well as repudiation of myths and stereotypes.

Only 11 percent of respondents think of themselves as well-off; 33 percent claim they are firmly but modestly comfortable and 27 percent that they make do with "bare necessities". Finally, 29 percent say they are barely able "to make ends meet" and must borrow and rely on the assistance of family and friends since their own incomes are insufficient. This self-assessment is correlated by monthly income figures provided by the respondents: 10 percent earn R200 per person, 16 percent R150 to R200, 38 percent R100 to R150 and 28 percent less than R100 (of which 10 percent make less than R75 rubles per person).

A large number of respondents, or 66 percent, note serious problems with food supply, and 88 percent consumer goods shortages. Many think that medical care has gotten worse or is at the same level (31 percent and 43 percent, respectively). Assessing the work of the courts and law enforcement agencies, 64 percent see no change for the better, and 16 percent think it has worsened.

Typically, these answers are full of the usual expectations of improvement from above; they reflect a sort of childishness, lack of confidence in one's own abilities and in the possibility of achieving improvements by joint efforts. A majority of respondents thinks that only those have gained from changes in the society so far who in the past were able to turn the imperfections of the economic system to their advantage, were able to adapt to shadow economy or were part of the official system of privilege distribution.

Nearly half of respondents think that cooperative members benefit most from current reforms. Many think that things are getting better for "wheeler-dealers and thieves" (37 percent), retail trade workers (25 percent) and private entrepreneurs (22 percent), while skilled or simply honest workers have not yet gained anything substantive.

Sixty two percent of respondents see no real opportunity for themselves to influence the course of events in the country or decisions that are being made. This makes one wonder that perhaps the realization of this alienation is actually a guarantee that it will be overcome and progress achieved. Who is stronger, after all, someone who is blinded by the illusion of his access to power or someone who realistically calculates his chances and the balance of forces? Incidentally, 63 percent of respondents complain that the press writes extremely little about instances of abuse of power and does little to describe the mechanism whereby the most important political decisions are made.

Now about specific troubles and dangers envisioned by our readers. Most likely, according to 85 percent of respondents, is the risk of a major technological mishap with disastrous consequences. The share of those who think this impossible or unlikely is only 2.6 percent. In the social area, foremost is the risk of interethnic conflicts, noted by 70 percent of respondents. Incidentally, elsewhere in the questionnaire respondents noted that nationality relations have worsened (in particular, 55 percent cited growing tensions among people of different nationalities). The next serious threat is a general or irreversible environmental crisis (50 percent). Letters attached to some responses cited numerous examples of worsening environmental situation in various regions of the country, for instance in the Volga region, along the Baltic, in Siberia and the Ukraine. People are also seriously concerned about the possibility of economic difficulties and mass epidemics (40 percent each).

People view recent changes in the social and political climate as positive, citing broadening glasnost and newly acquired freedoms of speech and expression. They value highly even the chance to comment on it. One reader wrote that he was "adding his own vote to the pool of votes cast for decisive and rapid radical reform."

Yes, expectations and even demands to accelerate the process of change and renewal abound, and respondents place their hopes in the political leadership of the country.

A majority of respondents think that radical change in the makeup of top leadership is unlikely in the immediate future. (Eight percent think it is "totally impossible", and 36 percent "unlikely".)

Some 34.5 percent think that return of mass repressions in our time is impossible and 36 percent unlikely, while 10 percent do not rule out this danger.

It is extremely difficult to assess how deeply rooted fears and alarm have become. No generalization of this sort is particularly reliable since the process of change in the society has just started and at times like this tension is concentrated and distributed very unevenly.

Still, it should be admitted that in general we know our own society rather poorly; we have never studied it seriously even though we constantly face the need to assess acute social and group conflicts.

In this respect, a symbolic cross-section of fear of natural disasters can be used as an indicator of tenseness in society. (Such fears reveal a kind of coded psychological mood of society's consciousness.) Our readers think that the likelihood of a natural disaster is very high: 76.2 percent do not rule out such possibility, while only 1 percent hold the opposite view.

As to actual, especially memorable events of the past year, approximately one in ten respondents listed more than the three events we asked them for. One way or another, all the notable events of the year made it to the final list, except for the beauty contest which was not mentioned by anybody. Based on what people found especially memorable we can judge not only the significance of the events themselves but also the current state of society and the relative scale of values that has evolved. It is no accident that especially important were events representing our country on the world arena, such as the Medium-Range Nuclear Arms Treaty, or those which touched the entire nation, such as the pullout of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, seen as the main event of last year by three fifths of respondents.

Of course, the earthquake in Armenia will remain on people's mind for a long time, both as our common tragedy and an example of cooperation in a human world not carved up by state borders. Among most memorable events were the 19th party conference, the 1,000th

anniversary of Christianity in Russia and M.S.Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations. The restoration of A.D.Sakharov's reputation and repeal of quotas on subscriptions were also important milestones. By naming them among important events our readers tied them to the possibility of further democratization, mentioning also the complex situation in Nagorny Karabakh, the creation of Popular Fronts in the Baltic republics, wider access to archives and special closed sections in libraries and the new Law on Cooperatives.

Responding to the question on the causes of our current difficulties, 62.5 percent of respondents marked off point 97 of the questionnaire. This rather general and vague statement about "the rule of bureaucracy" was expanded on the margins or in accompanying letters. (Such letters were attached to about half of all replies and require further in-depth study.) Fourteen percent of respondents think that from the period of stagnation we have inherited a bloated management apparatus, the command bureaucratic economic management style covering all aspect of life, deaf bureaucratism and pointless red tape. Many people mention privilege and other signs of social injustice and impunity of those in power when they violate the law, and they often complain about decreased respect for the party, loss of its leading role and incompetence of leaders.

Among persistent ills of our society most frequently mentioned were corruption, drunkenness, black market and theft (59.6 percent). More than half of respondents, or 58 percent, feel that our technological backwardness is shameful—a fact that does not need commentaries. After this come past mistakes in selecting the course of the country's development (47.4 percent). Here we should note that to the question what journalists should write about more often 83.6 percent replied that they would like to know more about alternative paths of social development.

Another large group of answers concerned a phenomenon known in our journalism as dictatorship of mediocrity. Some people think that it represses personal initiative and brings everything down to the level of mediocrity (44.1 percent), while other take it to mean incompetence of leaders (38.6 percent), which also results in the low level of professional competence (35.7 percent).

One third of respondents blame our ills on the consequences of stalinism. Also, 17 percent feel that the press pays too little attention and devotes insufficient space to further condemnation of stalinism, while 26.3 percent hold the exact opposite view and 49.3 percent think that the subject is being covered appropriately.

To a certain degree, the habit factor which has made people used to a certain number of facts may have played a role here, in addition to the dissatisfaction with the low level of historical analysis.



Some 30.3 percent of respondents blame many of our ills on "moral decline". On the margins, there was more variety on the subject: 14 percent cited people's lack of initiative, indifference to one another, parasitism and infantilism; 11 percent blamed rudeness, cruelty, and bad manners in personal relations and 10 percent accused the nation of usual servility and patience, in a negative sense. In general, moral and psychological factors were mentioned in half of responses. Related to the assessment of the moral health of society were statements about unwillingness or inability of many to work well (26.3 percent). Materialism and consumerism were mentioned by 18.3 percent.

What about ways to overcome economic difficulties? The first place among them went to the suggestion to cut military spending (71.2 percent). This near-unanimity marks a decisive shift away from the so-called defense mentality which occurred literally in a few past years. Incidentally, while talking about the future 36 percent of respondents absolutely excluded the possibility of war, 41 percent viewed it as unlikely and only 4.6 percent saw a real likelihood of it. In addition, some 55 percent expressed criticism of the military, noting that the press should write more about situations when military regulations are violated. Interestingly, servicemen, in many of their supplementary remarks, were no less critical of the state of affairs in the military than civilians.

Second place after demilitarization was the proposal to give peasants, if they wish, unrestricted right to own land and tools to work it (67 percent of respondents). The idea to transfer all power to local soviets was also popular (47 percent). Next in popularity, firm order and stronger central planning were evenly split, garnering 30 percent each, followed by further development of private enterprise with appropriate state controls (37 percent) and reliance of foreign capital (32 percent). A much smaller group of respondents (only 22 percent) supported freedom of cooperative activity, which obviously reflected the fear of rising prices on the one hand and envy for the fabulous riches of enterprising individuals on the other.

"Which country's achievements do you consider especially valuable to us?" was the question to which most respondents answered Japan (39 percent) and the US (approximately one third of respondents).

One fifth of respondents suggested that we should look closely at China's experience, taking into account, of course, its tragedies, shortcomings and drastic changes occurring in recent years, which are echoed by our own perestroika.

Let us turn to the question about the man of the year. The idea proved controversial. One tenth of the poll's participants rejected it outright. Few were able to find the 6 candidates for the 3 male and 3 female slots. The results are as follows:

Among men, a majority of votes went to M.S.Gorbachev, and other candidates, listed by the declining order, were Ronald Reagan, N.I.Ryzhkov, A.D.-Sakharov, B.N.Yeltsin and others. Among women were Margaret Thatcher, Benazir Bhutto, Mother Theresa, A.B.Pugachyova, T.I.Zaslavskaya, Corazon Aquino, N.Andreyeva and others.

Various responses revealed the positive attitude of the majority to the increased role of the media. Some 84 percent stated that the press and television have changed for the better, and 72 percent also valued the choice, or to be able to "read, listen to and watch what they want".

From the point of view of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's readers, OGONEK is the most interesting magazine, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA the best newspaper. They are followed by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY and the magazine NOVYY MIR. These publications are generally our respondents' source of information about the world, events and personalities. Also popular, in a declining order, are KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, IZVESTIYA and magazines ZNAMYA, YUNOST and SMENA.

As to most serious literary works among the recently published ones, there was little unity in our respondents' choice. Most often they mentioned novels by V.Grossman, A.Rybakov, V.Dudintsev, B.Pasternak, Yu.Dombrovskiy and A.Pristavkin. In journalism, articles and essays by V.Selyunin, N.Shmelyov, Yu.Shchekochikhin, A.Vaksberg, A.Tsipko, Yu.Chernichenko, A.Nuykin, Yu.Karyakin, G.Lisichkin, O.Moroz, O.Latsis and G.Popov attracted most attention.

To conclude, what are our feelings after we have studied, in a cursory and preliminary manner, the full range of those opinions? Concerned about the present and the past, people saw a chance to say what they think in a way that they feel is useful. The past year enriched them with experience and skills of practical participation in discussing life's real problems. We can say that the thinking and most active part of the population has realized that it bears responsibility for the fate of the country and no longer depends on official opinions.

At least, this is the mood among LITERATURNAYA GAZETA readers.

Editorial Comment: A week prior to the publication of this article, some data obtained by sociologists was published by a VTsIOM employee Yu.Levada, Ph.D. in Philosophy, in the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. Since in this case we are not dealing with a public opinion poll in general but of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA readers, we feel that the action by Yu.Levada, as well as by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI editors, was unethical.

**Living Standards Detailed for Low-Wage Earners**  
18300528 Moscow *VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA*  
in Russian 1 Apr 89 p 3

[Article by G. Zhuravlev, head of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Laboratory: "Those, Who Very Much Believe in Perestroika"]

[Text] Until recently, it was not acceptable to talk about poverty. It was thought that it simply could not exist in a socialist society. Meanwhile, at least 40 million people in our country belong, as it is acceptable to call them, to the low income category. If we proceed from the fact that the size of the rational consumer budget totals 250-300 rubles per family member and, if you consider the ruble's low purchasing power and hidden price increases, then more than half of the country's population, having an average income of less than 125 rubles per month, cannot in any way be regarded as wealthy. I must add that, on 1 January 1989, only one person in seven working in the national economy received a salary of more than 300 rubles.

Research conducted in 1988 in several workers collectives allowed us to obtain material characterizing the social situation of the low income portion of the population, those whose income does not exceed 70 rubles per family member per month. Among these people, there are more young people, poorly educated individuals, and those with less work service and low skills. Correspondingly, they also have the lowest salaries. 72.9 percent of individuals with an average per capita monthly income of 70 rubles or less had salaries of 200 rubles or less, that is, below the average monthly wage of workers and employees. There are many parents in this category who have two children and even more families in which three of four children are being raised. Women and men are questioned in equal numbers in this category.

Housing provided to poor people is worse than normal. Half of them have 3 to 5 square meters of living space per person in all. All of our social cataclysms primarily affect them—inflation, shortages, etc. Two-thirds of them have not seen their material living conditions improve in the last five years, on the contrary, 15 percent of them are worse off. Only a few of them have supplemental earning due to individual work activity (1.7 percent) and work in subsidiary small-holdings (8 percent).

Seventy percent of poor people pointed out that their material situation is the same as that of the majority of the population. Of course, all recognize that they normally compare themselves with people around them. The remaining 30 percent said that in a material sense they live worse than the majority of the population.

Concern is caused by the fact that few of them associate improvement of their material situation with their own labor. Only 15 percent expressed certainty that persistent labor will be rewarded. Only 29 percent answered that

"The more you work, the better you live." Obviously, wage-leveling in production is still being retained. This primarily affects the low income category of workers.

The majority of persons with low incomes are oriented to an increase of earnings. Thus, 89.5 percent are ready for a greater labor contribution for its' sake. Obviously, we need to utilize peoples' orientation toward more intensive labor—to create the conditions in production for it and, moreover, so that they keep wishing for the better.

Many of those questioned complain about poor organization of labor and poor supply of materials, physical exhaustion, and some of them consider their work to be uninteresting. More than half are not satisfied with their professions and the workers collectives in which they work.

Two-thirds of those questioned are not satisfied with their own level of knowledge required to carry out their work, but only 20 percent are increasing their skills (but 50 percent of those individuals with high incomes are [increasing their skills]). Many think that they do not have sufficient knowledge to participate in innovative activity in production and to participate in management. Among them there are half as many who would like to learn in the future.

This partly promotes the worst housing conditions and a greater number of children in the family. These concerns catastrophically reduce free time. Domestic troubles, difficulties organizing feeding, raising children, and the absence of municipal conveniences more greatly oppress the poor. These families have fewer washing machines and sewing machines, vacuum cleaners, and other domestic equipment. Many complain of family arguments and children's rebelliousness; they think that material difficulties interfere with rationally spending spare time, going to the theater, to movies, or to concert halls, visiting friends, watching television programs, or reading newspapers, magazines, and books. Many of these people go to church.

Low incomes, unfavorable material conditions, lack of free time, this is a closed circle from which it is difficult to escape. Unfortunately, workers collectives and their trade union organizations rarely render needed and timely aid to precisely these low income workers.

Low income workers have reasons for less participation in management of production and for insufficient manifestation of social activity. Thirty six percent pointed out that the administration is not interested in recruiting workers for management positions. Twenty nine percent added that it is better not to display initiative.

Nevertheless, persons with low incomes do not consider themselves to be some sort of amorphous apolitical mass. They are guided by those same values in their lives as are individuals with high incomes. They would like peace on Earth, that nature would be conserved, and

they desire success for their children. They also are worried about the same problems of man's legal protection and issues of social justice. They are for glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, and democratization of society but, unfortunately, they are quite passive.

Poor people are ready to sacrifice personal interests in order for our country to emerge at leading technological and industrial positions by the year 2000 and 50 percent of persons with low incomes questioned look to the future with optimism. They relate positively to individual work activity and cooperation. They condemn negative phenomena in our lives—bribery, drug addiction, and theft. I think that this category of people represent a significant part of the social base of perestroyka. They to no less a degree and maybe to a greater degree than those who have higher incomes are interested in reforms since they associate them with hopes for a better life.

As a whole, however, the picture is far from optimistic. We are talking about millions of poor people and about massive social processes. Poverty is an acute problem. On the one hand, it affects the personality, slowing its development. On the other hand, it affects society because it receives less skilled, literate workers. These people are extremely concerned about how to get their daily bread and have neither the strength nor the opportunity to learn, to increase their skills, and to actively participate in managing the affairs of production and society. If in the 30's, in conditions of the supremacy of the centralized management by decree system, such a situation was justified as the so-called subordination of personal interests to society's, then today such an approach would be a mistake because society cannot flourish if each of its citizens does not enrich himself and does not universally develop.

#### **Young Adult Homelessness Increasing Due to Lack of Housing**

18300550 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 9 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by P. Voshchanov, economics writer: "The Homeless"; first paragraph is source introduction; last two paragraphs editorial comment]

[Text] The homeless... We meet them in the cellars and attics of our apartment buildings and waiting rooms of train stations and airport terminals. Many of them are used to spending nights in airless central heating substations and in old houses emptied for demolition. They are frequent guests in various boiler rooms and hot shops at some factories. Life without home has taught them to be careful, but it has left its imprint on their appearance. As a rule, they cannot melt in the crowd. We notice them and try to avoid contact with them as much as possible. One in two homeless usually winds up in jail or in a prison hospital.

Many law enforcement professionals, when they speak about the homeless, note that in recent years the number of young adults among them has increased significantly. One out of every three persons arrested for vagrancy is under 30 years of age.

"For 4 years until I got married, I lived in a dormitory. Once the marriage stamp was put into my passport, the dormitory's doors were shut to me. We had to rent from strangers. A year later I was alone. To be frank, it did not upset me too much. I thought that now at least I would get back into the dormitory and could live like a human being. But no. And I paid for my attempts to get justice: first I lost my residence permit and then my job. For 18 months or so I worked at odd jobs. Now, my employment record has become my own black-list ticket. And so I am a vagrant. I live anywhere I can, and how I can." (Sergey Kuzovin, a self-described "man without an address or, if you are not afraid to say it, homeless.")

"What is he talking about?" a well-known economist to whom I showed this letter and who had worked at several major construction projects was outraged. "In eastern Siberia there are tens, even hundreds of thousands of unfilled jobs. Most of them come with places in dormitories. Who wants a place to live will always find one." Well, he may be right. And yet, I think that his ideas come from the entrenched poster-like image of young people as men and women in obligatory overalls, brick-laying tool in hand, troubled by nothing.

For years, social work among young people has been based on this cliché. The reality, however, everything is quite different. For various reasons many young people find themselves tossed into the street, wander from one stranger to another, pay a greater half of their salaries for barely acceptable accommodations and lose spouses and friends. And no one can, or wants to, answer the simple question: why, in peacetime, are they so severely tested?

"We have no place to live. I live in a dormitory and my wife lives with her parents. They would be glad to let me live with them, but where? As it is, there are five of them in a trailer. We appealed everywhere. My trust manager said that he could not help us as there are no rooms at the dormitory. At the city komsomol committee we were told that we should have thought about housing before starting a family. We went to the city party committee but there they could only commiserate with us. Soon our baby will be born. I do not know how we will live." (G. Verzunov, Nizhnevartovsk, Tyumen Oblast)

I am convinced that many ills of our society, such as vagrancy, abandoned children, alcoholism and drug addiction, are directly linked to the hardships faced by young families. Today they are in the high social risk zone. Over four million of them do not have their own housing. Only one in six is able to find room in dormitories. The rest rent in the private sector. In the eastern parts of the country, young families often rent spaces



totally unfit for human habitation: sheds, wash-houses and even slightly upgraded chicken coops. Some experts estimate that nearly one third of young adults live in such conditions.

The position of a young family renting a room in the private sector is unenviable. They have no rights and are defenseless. They are robbed blind since it is well-known that they have no protection. The instinct of self-preservation suggests to private landlords not to let renters put out roots, since in this case there would be trouble. Their strategy is simple, to send their tenants packing after a while. Only half of childless couples are able to live in the same place for more than a year. Among young parents, even fewer are so lucky, or only one fifth.

A young construction worker told indignantly to a famous scientist: "I have been moving from one rented room to another for 3 years. My wife will soon leave me. How long can one wait and suffer? My boss kids me: if she loves you, he says, she'd never leave. Hardship only binds closer." This almost wartime view of family relations is very common, but in reality it does not work. Unsettled life and moving from one rented room to another by no means strengthen the young family but on the contrary weaken it and push it toward destruction. In a recent research paper I read that half of all divorced young couples cite lack of housing as the reason for their divorce.

"I came back from the cemetery and started to write this letter to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. I do not think you will publish it, but I am writing it anyway. Today we buried a roommate. What kind of person was he? He was nothing. Just as we all are here, nothing. The only thing I know is that he had lived in our "youth" dormitory for 17 years. I know he had a wife once, but she was from a different dormitory. They used to visit each other. But how can one carry on this kind of life together? We all are waiting for something here. But what? While one is single, there is no chance of getting an apartment; once one gets married, good-bye dorm. And good-bye residence permit, too. (S.Afanasyev, Chelyabinsk)

It used to be thought that it is much easier to live as a family, and yes, cheaper as well. In hiring, family people were given preference. Trying to make more money, they would obviously be more productive. So they would be much more useful than singles. And what is the situation today? A reader from the town of Zheltyye Vody, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, got the following greeting from housing management immediately upon getting married:

"Notice. Comrade S.N. Pluzhnik, in consequence of your getting married and in accordance with regulations governing singles' dormitories, we request that you vacate your bed within a period of 10 days and cancel your residence permit. Deputy Director in Charge of Living Accommodations V.P.Sitnikov."

What are those regulations? Which state entity issued them? Who approved them? How does their intent accord with the constitutional right to housing? Having called nearly everyone in Moscow without getting an intelligible response, I concluded that all those regulations which place young families outside the law are nothing but the figment of the imagination of enterprise administrators and their superior agencies.

"What does one have to go through, as the head of our shop says, to get an apartment? I have spent 2 years in a dorm before military service, then 2 years in the barracks and now 4 more years in a dorm. I have lived a third of my life on a state bed. And how much longer will it be? And all this only because I am single?" (P.Zhmuyda, Minsk)

Sociological studies reveal that getting better housing accommodations is the main issue on the minds of young adults. Food and clothing come second. Yet, few people under 30 are able to get their own housing. Some assessments put the number at one in ten. Others' lot is the dorm. Today, nearly 800,000 workers in the construction industry alone live in dormitories. And for the entire economy including students, the number is in the millions.

"The dorm is the best place for young people to live." Who invented this nonsense? Why are we not seeking other, more reasonable and just solutions? Why do dormitories play so significant a role in own-use construction programs at many enterprises and organizations? Perhaps it is because it is cheaper to build dormitories than standard-design apartment buildings for singles and small families. Calculations of construction industry economists show that the advantage is not so great that it is worth creating such serious social problems. In addition, most dormitories, especially in large cities, are not typical ones. Standard-design apartment buildings are converted to dorms which are then stuffed to the gills with homeless young adults.

What is the advantage of this? None for the economy and the people, in my opinion. As to administrators... Administrators primarily see here an opportunity to hire and quarter in the available housing space as many workers as possible. Moreover, these are socially unsettled workers, unprotected and therefore dependent on the slightest whim of any boss, however minor. I think that the barrack-like housing conditions may become a serious impediment to achieving true workers' self-management.

And yet, even today the dormitory is an unattainable dream for many young people. Despite all the psychological problems, it allows them to avoid the enormous financial burden associated with the private market. Especially since landlords more than compensate the losses they suffer from rising prices of goods and services at the expense of their tenants. In the past 10 years,

average rents for a housing sublets have risen dramatically: rent on a typical room rose 1.5 times, and on an apartment even more than that, almost 2 times. Today, no one faints upon hearing that an apartment rents for 100-120 rubles a month, and a room for 70 rubles. Some readers report even steeper prices. The wages of young workers are currently 1.5 times lower than of the rest of the population. This is why young people go to great lengths to get a place at a dormitory, even though there, too, rents have begun to creep up.

In the village of Elbrus, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, construction workers arriving on a komsomol assignment have been put into a standard 3-room flat. There are three families totaling 11 persons. They pay a total of 60 rubles a month. Yet, the gas stove in the apartment is broken, appliances are missing in the bathroom and the water has been turned off. What is it, the caprices of self-financed service? How easily some administrators accept such novel inventions! They probably know that they will meet no resistance. To kick a trouble-maker out of a dormitory is very easy indeed. Enterprise management, for instance, can simply ask for a few rooms to be vacated for visitors. Despite an extremely acute shortage, several comfortable rooms are always kept empty, to be used only on direct orders from above.

"I have a room, but my former wife and her new husband are living in it. Are such situations so rare? Yet, no one wants to bother with people like me. I, for instance, have no place to live. It is almost impossible to rent an apartment. With my type of residence permit, I can neither live in a dorm nor stay in a hotel in this city. For a month and a half I have been living in a shed belonging to one kind old woman. When I return from work she literally strip-searches me looking for matches. She is afraid that I would set the place on fire. It is unpleasant but I have to put up with it. If she kicks me out I am homeless." (L. Tarychkin, Tyumen)

The homeless. I think that it is not only those who have no roof over their heads. It is also those who live under others' roofs, which can become the cold starry sky at a moment's notice. Young people's unsettled living situation and lack of legal recourse that stems from it—is this not reality?

Lately, various state organizations have passed decisions aimed at improving the living conditions of the population, including those of young adults. Young people's housing cooperatives are growing. Young people are starting take the solution to their housing problems into their own hands. The more local support they get, the more likely they are to succeed. Yet, the flood of letters to the newspaper on this subject has not diminished. Why? Is it that the new forms do not work, or perhaps we have not yet learned to use them? In general, what do we need to do to solve this problem, speed up the process and achieve more tangible results?

This will be discussed in my next article.

**Editorial Comment:** This article will probably bring even more letters from people who have no place to call home or a roof overhead. No matter how much we would like to, we would not be able to help them. But we would be glad to hear your ideas on how to solve this acute problem quickly.

We are waiting for your proposals.

#### **Disease Statistics Kept Secret** 18310021h

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 11 January 1989 carries on page 4 a 1700 word interview with Professor Ali Insanov, director of the Azerbaijan Scientific Research Institute for Phthisiology and Pulmonology, on disease control problems in Azerbaijan. He claims that "in 1987 there were significantly more cases of malaria in Azerbaijan than the All-Union average. Cases of viral hepatitis, measles, poliomyelitis and brucellosis have increased. The number of children dying from these and other diseases is high; above all, this number is increasing instead of decreasing. All this is connected with the extremely low level of medical services and the weak material-technical base of treatment institutions." He points out that "statistical data on disease was kept secret during the years of stagnation", especially with regard to lung diseases.

#### **Medical Incompetence Under Attack In Tashauz Oblast** 18350013e

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 21 January 1989 carries on page 3 a 3200 word article by A. Ovezov and A. Orayev of the TSSR Peoples Control Committee on the "unsatisfactory" state of medical services in Tashauz Oblast, especially with regard to childbirth and infant mortality. They point out that one of the primary causes of this is medical incompetence. After an intensive investigation of the cause behind the high rate of women dying in childbirth, it was found that "two out of every three deaths could have been prevented." The report added that "not one of the deaths of these mothers has been analyzed among the broad masses of medical workers, and medical workers have learned nothing from them"; it was also noted that "not one medical worker has been found criminally responsible for the deaths of these mothers. If the situation with regard to medical services for children is no worse than this, it is also no better." It was determined that no medical records are kept on newly born children and that records on child and infant mortality have been consistently falsified. The investigation concluded that "over the last three years the Ministry of Health, the oblast medical department and central rayon hospitals have not succeeded in restructuring their work."

**Draft of Principles of Restructuring Republics' Economies Interpreted**

18000934 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
30 Mar 89 p 2

[Article under "Soviet Lithuania" rubric by K. Antanavichyus, professor, doctor of economic sciences: "Will There or Won't There Be Genuine Republic-Level Cost Accounting?"]

[Text] A draft of the General Principles for Restructuring Management of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics, Based on Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Government, and Self-Financing was recently published. Many important questions involving the interaction among the central, union-, and republic-level administrative organs have been brought up for nationwide discussion.

We were waiting for this draft and, to a certain extent, have anticipated its appearance by working out a concept of republic-level cost accounting. For more than six months Lithuania has witnessed sharp, constructive discussions on the problems of republic-level cost accounting. By their joint efforts, economists and specialists of the Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian SSR's have succeeded, on the whole, in working out the basic principles of republic-level economic independence.

Our proposals represent an integrated model of economic relations, of well-founded equivalent exchanges among equal partners (enterprises, farms, associations, and republics. What is provided for is a universal conversion to economic-management methods and the complete abandonment of administrative-command methods. Economically independent enterprises and organizations must carry out direct, mutually profitable, economic ties solely with the aid of the levers of commodity-monetary relations. On this basis the republic-level economy becomes a market functioning within the over-all market of the country, the socialist community, and the entire world.

The republics will be compelled to keep careful track of their own revenues and expenditures, to seek out effective ways to develop their economies, and to conduct active economic policies. They will be no more mutual recriminations, either from the central organs of authority—of parasitism and dependency on different kinds of aid, or from the republics—of excessive centralization of resources and their unfair distribution, as well as arbitrariness in price formation and economic norms.

Of course, in order to implement these fundamentally new management methods, it is not enough simply to say: "Let there be light." It requires profound and specific work on ensuring the effectiveness of the new economic relations. In the first place, we need radical changes in price formation and finance policy, in planning and administrative organization, in the monetary system and the banking business, in the forms of selling

property, and in legal relations. It is evident that without an essential reform of the credit-finance system neither full cost accounting at enterprises, organizations, or farms, nor the economic independence of the republics (or regions) are at all possible.

Worldwide practice and economic logic have demonstrated that genuinely equitable and democratic relations in the economy can be implemented solely by means of an equivalent exchange in the markets. Therefore, we propose that, simultaneously with the conversion to republic-level cost accounting, there be an abandonment of both the central as well as the local administrative, direct, plan directives, and that we make the transition to market relations. It is evident that an equivalent exchange in the markets can be implemented only in case there is precise action of the price mechanism, based on the relations of supply and demand.

For this purpose we need money as a measure of value, as a foundation of the credit-finance system. But the existing credit-monetary system, which allows the excess financing of the economy, is not capable of performing the role of a measure in equivalent exchanges. Along with the consumer-goods and producer-goods markets, we must create finance, investment, foreign-trade, labor, and other markets. Without such a measure, a genuine cost accounting is impossible; there is no basis for a precise co-measurement of revenues and expenditures. Consequently, if we are going to speak seriously about republic-level cost accounting, then for the transition period, during which the ruble will not become a convertible monetary unit, there is no other solution but to introduce a republic-level monetary system. And this solution derives not from emotional attitudes but rather from economic logic. Worldwide economic practice knows no method other than real money for regulating free commercial relations and protecting the interests of partners participating in the exchange processes.

Let's just imagine a cost-accounting, self-supporting republic operating under the conditions of a market economy and unprotected from other regions operating under the conditions of a universal deficit. The mass of free money would leave it not only without food and other items of prime necessity, but also without production-type resources. It would have to introduce checks, cards, and coupons. But this substitution would not ensure full-valued, commodity-monetary relations. Consequently, the republic would not succeed in overcoming the inflationary processes ruining the economy.

We are proposing a gradual solution of the economic problems; its foundation would be laid by those republics which are making the transition to a fundamentally new system of economic relations. If within a few years all our republics switch over to this path, then our country's economy can be gradually extricated from its



impasse-like condition. But the measures being proposed by us all-too-frequently evoke the most negative opinions and sometimes even intentionally distorted interpretations.

In their arguments our opponents for some reason proceed from the viewpoint that economic independence of the republics would mean a virtual break-up of the Union. Is it not high time to cease identifying the command-type administration of the economy from the central authority with the strength of the state? World-wide experience, economic logic, and even the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress indicate the converse: economic independence and the principles of a common market lead not to a closed system but, on the contrary, to integration. And the latter is achievable without the interference of a bureaucratic apparatus, but rather based upon the equal rights of the partners and equivalent exchange.

In our own drafts we propose that the republic's economy become a market functioning within the general market of the Union republics and the socialist countries. The charge is leveled against us that the republics' economic independence would lead to rifts between the markets of the various republics. We are convinced of the fact that, being economically independent, we would enter into closer and more equitable relations with all the Union republics, and we would begin to sell more products in other regions.

The apprehension has also arisen that the republics in a unilateral procedure would, for some reason, close down their own markets and abandon the integrated ties which have evolved over the years. No, these ties would only expand, but on the basis of mutual advantage. The presuppositions about narrowing down the sphere of enterprises' actions in selling products proceed from a failure to understand the essence of our proposals—to function within a common market of the Union republics, rather than in some other market, unknown to us but which our opponents assume is a Western one.

Taking into account these characteristic features, which have been incorporated into the nationwide discussion, the General Principles may be regarded as merely the first step in the field of expanding the rights and responsibilities of the Union republics. The measures which they provide in the area of administrative organization and formulating the budgets of the Union republics, protecting the environment, and administering social development must become the fundamental principle of strengthening the self-government and self-financing of the Union republics. However, the still-retained old principles of planning, material-and-technical supply, and administration are leading to a situation whereby we would still have the predominant administrative-command, bureaucratic methods of administering the economy and the country, including the Union republics. In

our opinion, the measures being proposed are insufficient to overcome departmentalism and the excessive centralization of economic relations.

The draft of the General Principles does not provide for a substantial conversion from the evolved, administrative-distribution methods of administering the economy to commodity-monetary, i.e., market relations. The draft merely states that "in order to eliminate monopoly tendencies infringing upon the consumers' interests, step up the inter-republic, integrationist processes, and form an effectively functioning, All-Union market, we must work out a system of economic and legal norms ensuring the development of competitiveness and competition among product suppliers, as well as put into good order the mutually profitable economic ties among the material-supply organs, producers, and consumers, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction and territorial location."

In our opinion, such a system of economic and legal norms should be laid into the foundation of the draft itself. The lack of such norms postpones to an indefinite time the solution of principal problems of radically reforming the economy. We deem it necessary to note that if the rights and responsibilities of the republics are, in fact, expanded to a certain extent, then notable shifts in economic relations will be lacking in the draft. The danger arises that the dictates from the center will be replaced or be reinforced by republic-level dictates.

Consequently, the draft of the General Principles, in our opinion, has not yet solved the problems posed by the 27th CPSU Congress, which stated precisely that solving the new problems in the economy would be "impossible without a profound restructuring of the economic mechanism, creating an integrated, effective, and flexible system of administration.... It is impossible to limit ourselves to a partial improvement. What we need is a radical reform."

We have passed the halfway point of the five-year plan, and there is no way we can postpone solving the problems envisioned by the congress's decision. The General Principles must be supplemented by specific measures ensuring a universal conversion to the economic methods of regulating the economy and the final elimination of the administrative-command methods. Therefore, the concept worked out in Lithuania, one which represents a possible variant of the radical economic reform must be accorded attention in completing work on the draft.

One of the basic problems, in our opinion, is the matter of property ownership. We must develop new juridical formulas and provide the groundwork for various systems of utilizing state-owned facilities. We must abandon the subordination of enterprises located on a republic's territory to either central or republic-level departments.

We must provide for measures to restore the monetary system to good health, to create a convertible ruble, to establish a system of commercial banks, and to introduce temporary monetary means (checks, credit cards, etc.).

We need to liquidate most central and republic-level ministries and departments which carry out the administrative-command regulation of enterprises and farms. We must abandon Gosnab's monopoly and create commercially independent organizations (bases) of wholesale trade.

A procedure must be provided for formulating republic-level and local budgets by means of direct unitary deductions from the revenues of all enterprises, organizations, and farms. In such computations the republics must be lumped together with the Union budget as a whole.

In the area of formulating budgets, we must achieve a situation whereby neither departments, nor the USSR Ministry of Finance, nor the finance ministries of the republics can on their own recognizance determine and specify the norms of economic payments. This must be exclusively the prerogative of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the republic's Supreme Soviet.

We also need to specify precise regulations for formulating the State Budget of the USSR and the Union republics so as to eliminate the possibility of "sub-regulating" (subsidizing) the budgets of individual republics by means of redistributing a portion of the turnover tax and other sources of revenue, state grants, and subsidies.

We ought to abolish the funding of credit resources and grant republics the right to independently conduct the credit policy on their own territories.

The rights of the republics to saturate the market with consumer goods are also limited in the draft of the General Principles. Moreover, deliveries and Union funds are retained and even expanded, as specified by the center, whereas the responsibility for a balanced quality between the population's income and expenditures is completely shifted to the shoulders of the Union republics. Consequently, responsibility does not yet correspond to rights.

We must do away with state orders, which have been transformed into state assignments, and make the transition to state orders awarded and distributed on a competitive basis. It is necessary to provide measures to eliminate limits (obligatory assignments to enterprises) with regard to concluding direct contracts for product deliveries. Direct contracts should be concluded on voluntary principles, proceeding from the possibilities of the enterprises involved.

We must abandon control figures, both normative-net as well as gross volume of output. The proportions of production can be successfully regulated by monetary-finance methods, state contracts, and other economic means.

It is unacceptable to apply directive-type planning data with regard to enterprises of Union jurisdiction, as well as on consumer goods and paid services. Cost-accounting enterprises themselves should determine what and in what quantities (in addition to state orders) items ought to be produced: they are vitally interested in the development of production.

In the final analysis, we must resolve to enter upon the path of developing market relations and converting to price formation based on the correlation between supply and demand, having eliminated monopolies on production and on the market.

If we are going to try to substantially engage in restoring our economy's health, if we have recognized the need to reject universal distribution and the relics of a natural, in-kind-type economy, if we are going to speak seriously about replacing the administrative-command methods of running the economy, then we must decisively reject the careful attempts to crowd real socioeconomic processes and phenomena into the framework of the evolved ideas concerning socialist production relations, and we must proceed along paths which are fundamentally new for us but not new for worldwide practice.

**MSSR Procurator Appeals to 'Informals'**  
18000944 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 29 Mar 89 p 3

[Open letter by N. Demidenko, MSSR Procurator: "An Open Letter to the Leading Officials, Members, and Followers of Public Associations"]

[Text] In Moldavia, as is also the case throughout the entire country, perestroika has put all public forces in motion, unfettered peoples' minds from dogmatism, stereotypes, pharasaical unanimity and conformism. Frankness and glasnost, the free expression of one's own opinion and desires, the co-participation of each person in solving the problems which disturb society are becoming more and more a part of everyday life.

A certain modest amount is also being contributed to the emergence and expansion of this democratic process by the new amateur organizations formed by citizens. By their voices raised in defense of natural, historical, and cultural values, protesting against stagnation and bureaucracy, as well as twists and skewing in the economy and the social sphere they are arousing the appropriate institutions of the state and the society to more decisive and specific actions; and they are helping to support the lofty mood of perestroika, as well as confirming its irreversibility.

All the useful beginnings along these lines find understanding and support. Such associations are offered public places, buildings, and facilities, as well as equipment for conducting assemblies, meetings, and other mass measures; aid is rendered in facilitating and supporting law and order. There is a continuous searching for ways of cooperative action by state organs and the public, joining their efforts to solve the urgent problems of renewal and perestroika. Of particular importance is the urgent working out and implementation of measures on urgent social, economic, ecological, legal, and cultural-linguistic problems, as well as the improvement of inter-ethnic relations.

From day to day we are expanding the possibilities of a multifaceted, open, and—the main thing—constructive work to overcome negative phenomena in all vital spheres. All the conditions exist for a democratic and equitable solution of disputed problems and the conflicts which arise.

In this connection, it is evident that the methods being used recently by the followers of certain informal associations, methods and tactics of forceful pressure on the political leadership and the state organs of authority and administration lead only to excesses and wastes. Meetings and demonstrations in the capital, organized without the permission of the city and rayon ispolkoms, have been accompanied by mass violations of public order, by disobedience to the lawful demands of the authorities and police, by disruptions of the operation of public transport, as well as by inciting passions and emotions. Moreover, there is frequently a distortion of the facts and figures, comments on the events are made in a one-sided and prejudicial manner, poorly thought-out and ambiguous appeals are resoundingly made, and some of them are extremist and provocative in nature. Manifestations of intolerance are allowed towards people who think differently: they are crudely "straightened out" and defamed; such people show a disrespectful attitude toward their opponents. There are instances where threats and physical violence have been made in the inter-relationships between the adherents of various groups and associations expressing different points of view.

At meetings and demonstrations the followers of these or other amateur associations which, despite the internationalism inherent in our socialist society, have been formed basically along nationalistic-linguistic lines, sometimes allow themselves to state chauvinistic and nationalistic ideas. Such anti-constitutional, anti-legal actions destabilize the situation, sow inter-ethnic dissension, rumors and panic among the population, and discredit the goals for the sake of which the assemblies and meetings have been convoked.

Under such circumstances the internal-affairs organs, the procuracy, and the courts are compelled to utilize the measures provided by law for supporting legality and law and order. For failing to observe the proper procedures

in conducting meetings and demonstrations, for disobedience to the authorities and other violations of the law, dozens of citizens have been subjected to administrative penalties. Criminal cases have been instigated and investigated regarding mass violations of public order, caused by unsanctioned meetings and demonstrations. A number of organizers and active participants have been arrested.

As a result of the confrontations between various associations, groups, and strata of citizens, the incitement of emotions, anti-legal, instigatory conduct by irresponsible elements, the atmosphere in the capital and certain other populated points sometimes heats up to such a degree that any poorly thought-out step or incident could entail tragic consequences. It is high time that we derived a lesson from the events which have occurred. We must not allow a further "blossoming" of social demagoguery, excessive social permissiveness, and legal nihilism, which would compromise the democratic gains and humanistic ideas which have evolved in inter-ethnic relations. The maximum responsibility and restraint are required, along with trust and respect for each other, equal guarantees of civil rights, regardless of the citizens' origin, social or property position, racial, or national membership, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, type and nature of occupation, place of residence, or other circumstances. Unity of democracy and legality must become the fundamental principle of the activity of each and every person.

Taking into account what has been set forth above, I appeal to the leading officials, members, and followers of the democratic movement in support of perestroika, the Yedinstvo internationalist movement, the Club imeni A. Mateyevich, and other existing and embryonic, informal associations with the following calls and proposals:

publicly condemn the incidence allowed followers of the associations of manifestations of a chauvinistic, nationalistic, and even anti-Soviet nature. Decisively set yourselves apart from persons who take extremist points of view, directly or indirectly calling for national dissension, incitement to violence, arbitrary action, anti-constitutional methods of defending their own views and interests;

in order to stabilize the situation, avert mass violations of public order, and their possible serious consequences, exclude the use of forceful pressure on the organs of authority and administration, the anti-legal practice of conducting unsanctioned meetings and demonstrations, anti-democratic tactics in mutual relations, discussions, and polemics. In all your activities, including those defending national interests, proceed from the principle of citizens' equality before the law, regardless of their national and linguistic membership, and strengthen friendship among peoples;



implement specific measures to bring viewpoints closer together and to consolidate the efforts of all associations and their followers on a platform of the common tasks of perestroika. Refrain from mutual confrontation and creation of isolated sociopolitical structures based on national-linguistic criteria. Base your mutual relations and work on a businesslike, creative, and frank discussion of the problems, as well as on a pluralism of opinions, democratism, and legality, along with cooperation in a comradely spirit.

**Moldavian Ideology Commission Meets**  
*18000982 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA*  
*in Russian 4 Apr 89 p 2*

[Unattributed Article: "Meeting of the Commission"]

[Text] A meeting of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission took place on April 3rd. The following issues were examined: its members' participation in preparing draft documents and analytical materials on the problem of improving inter-ethnic relations, submitted for discussion at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, and for rendering assistance to party committees in studying and explaining draft Laws of the Moldavian SSR "On the Status of a Moldavian SSR State Language" and "On the Function of Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR."

In opening the meeting, N.F. Bondarchuk, commission chairman and secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, emphasized that the CPSU Central Committee is ranking ideological renewal on the same level with radical reform of the economy and the political system, and with the process of democratization of all life of the party and society. The Ideological Commission's public duty is to seek embodiment of the ideas of perestroika in the peoples' daily activities and to conduct persistent and steadfast work for re-orienting social consciousness and to strive to develop it in the socialist channel. And this work must be intense, creative, free from dogmas and stereotypes, and the pattern and formalism of previous years. As active champions of perestroika, the commission's members are called on to assist party gorkoms [municipal committees], raykoms [regional committees], and leading party organizations in becoming deeply involved in today's events and phenomena, to determine new approaches regarding the specific directions of ideological and educational work, and, based on analysis, to develop proposals and recommendations for its improvement.

It was pointed out that publication of draft Laws of the Moldavian SSR "On the Status of A Moldavian SSR State Language" and "On the Function of Languages on the Territory of the Moldavian SSR," and also the forthcoming major ideological and political events—the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on the issues of inter-ethnic relations would also in many ways

determine the main thrusts of activities of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission members. They are faced with a particularly important task—personal participation in rendering assistance to party commissions in the study and explanation of the referenced draft laws, in ensuring their democratic and constructive discussion, and also in preparation for the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

The Ideology Commission is made up of three working groups of members and candidates for membership in the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The following members of the Ideology Commission spoke at the meeting: P.V. Voronin, L.P. Shutka, Ye.V. Sobor, D.G. Zidu, F.A. Angeli, I.K. Chobanu, S.I. Lozan, and A.K. Mironik, first deputy chief of the ideological section of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

**Kishinev Demonstrators Investigated**  
*18000983 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA*  
*in Russian 7 Apr 89 p 3*

[Report of the Moldavian SSR Procuracy Investigation Administration: "At the MSSR Procuracy": "Investigation Continues"]

[Text] Agencies of the procuracy and of internal affairs are investigating instances of group disturbances of the public order in February and March of this year in Kishinev during unsanctioned mass meetings and demonstrations. In the course of the investigation they have received proof that confirms the criminal nature of the actions taken by active participants in those events D. A. Popa, G. P. Vyrtos, and F. D. Kalistru. Those individuals were arrested and were charged with a crime stipulated in Article 203.3 (organizing and active participation in group actions that disturb public order) of the MSSR Criminal Code.

D. A. Popa, born in 1943, a Moldavian who worked as a storage-battery maintenance man at the Iskoz Combinate in Kishinev, partially admitting his guilt, stated that the idea of going out onto the square was suggested on 22 January 1989 while an authorized session of the A. Mateyevich club was being held at the Green Theater. It has been established that he, arriving in the center of town with his supporters, began to head the holding of an unsanctioned mass meeting, climbed up onto the stand on the monument to V. I. Lenin, and made a speech to those who had assembled, which contained appeals inciting them to engage in illegal actions. Then, together with others, he headed a march down the main street in the capital, as a result of which public transportation was disrupted for a long period of time.

The mass meeting and the demonstration were accompanied by loud shouts and whistling, by refusals to obey the representatives of authority, and by violations of the

traffic rules. "...I am aware now that public order actually was disturbed and that transportation was stopped..." Popa said at the interrogation.

G. P. Vyrtoş, born in 1961, Moldavian, inhabitant of the village of Kyrnatseny, Kaushanskiy Rayon, who worked as a stock clerk in a local public eating establishment, and member of the Moldavian Komsomol, when interrogated as a suspect, discussed in detail the unsuccessful circumstances in his life that had preceded his participation in the A. Mateyevich club and the disturbances of public order. As becomes obvious from his statements, over a period of several years he had changed his job more than ten times, had been expelled from a GPTU [state vocational-technical school] where he was studying to be a driver, and late last year he had not worked for approximately 3 months. Explaining how he happened to be one of the most active participants in the unsanctioned mass meeting and the organizer of the illegal demonstration, he stated that at a session of the club "Shalaru at the end, by a gesture of his hands and fingers, indicated that we would all meeting in the same place on 12 March 1989 at 1200 hours. Therefore... I came to Kishinev again in order to take part in the mass meeting."

Explaining his motives for climbing up onto the stand and then for heading the column of demonstrators who had been incited, Vyrtoş continued, "Despite the fact that the militia workers said that the mass meeting was not sanctioned and that we were breaking the law, at that time I felt that I was a hero, a patriot... Today it is difficult for me to explain my conduct. I was in such a state that I had exploded like a volcano, I had jumped the tracks, I had given way more to emotions than to reason." He admitted his guilt partially and made a number of statements in which he proposes cooperating in the prevention of similar incidents. "I feel within myself the strength with which I will be able to calm this mob once and for all," he wrote in his letter of 16 March 1989.

F. D. Kalistru, born in 1962, Moldavian, inhabitant of the village of Moshany, Ryshkanskiy Rayon, who works as a teacher at the Bulbokskaia eight-year school, non-party member. He also admitted his guilt partially. However, the investigation has at its disposal convincing materials—a video recording and photographs, and witnesses' depositions—that confirm that Kalistru was one of the organizers and active participants in the group disturbances of public order.

"I am a volunteer member of a democratic movement, as a result of which I sometimes take part in sessions of the organizing group that are held in the foyer of the Writers' Union," Kalistru reported. Then he revealed the mechanics of preparing for and organizing the sanctioned and unsanctioned measures, and gave the names of those who keep the so-called "primary cells"

informed. The minutes of his 20 March 1989 interrogation contain his words, "If the ispolkom refuses to give a sanction, the same slogans are brought forth by the representatives of the primary cells at an unsanctioned measure. For example, at the 6 March 1989 meeting, the slogans 'Zhos [Down With] Mafia,' 'Zhos Demidenko,' 'Zhos Bondarchuk,' and 'Zhos Russification' were proposed."

Extremely troubling statements concerning the activities of the informal groups were given by previously sentenced Ch., who has currently been detained for a new crime: "On 14 March of this year I met a person who had previously been sentenced, who had been sentenced for distributing leaflets and committing mass disorders in places of incarceration. We met and conversed. That prisoner suggested to me that we gather as a group in April and carry out terroristic actions in Kishinev... We were supposed to drive up to a certain place and stop, and to ask a person whether he spoke Moldavian. If he did not, we were supposed to say, 'Here, take this!'—that is, cut him with a knife... He proposed making up a team out of prisoners... He suggested that I become part of that team for patriotic reasons, and also in exchange for payment..." Then Ch. explained how the actions that compromised the law-enforcement agencies, particularly the article under the code-name "Bomb," were prepared and by whom. "I went to the 12 March 1989 meeting together with Fiogen Kalistru," Ch. reported.

All the depositions (they were cited verbatim above, in the form in which they are given in the minutes) given both by the suspects (defendants) and by the witnesses, as well as by the victims, are being compared and verified in the course of the investigation.

The investigator invited Leonida Lari to an interrogation, but she did not appear. But the secretary of the board of governors of the republic's Writers' Union, M. I. Chimpoy, sent the city's procurator a request, "We ask you to have the investigator interrogate her at the Writers' Union in the presence of members of the board of governors of the Writers' Union, since inviting her to the procuracy for an interrogation can provoke public dissatisfaction and indignation." In this regard it is explained to the author of the letter and to L. Lari that the demands of the agencies of preliminary investigation concerning an appearance for the purpose of giving depositions are based on law and are mandatory for everyone, and the ignoring of the law is inadmissible. This must especially be understood by M. I. Chimpoy, who was recently elected USSR people's deputy, and who, as a member of the country's highest agency of authority, will have to promote the conversion of our state into a genuinely rule-of-law state.

The investigation continues.

**Agenda of Estonian Intermovement Congress Reported**

*18000727a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 3*

[ETA report: "The First Congress of the International Movement of the Workers of the Estonian SSR"]

[Text] The First Congress of the International Movement of the Workers of the Estonian SSR opened on 4 March, in Tallinn, in the House of Political Education.

The congress was opened by Yu. Popov, a member of Intermovement's Coordinating Council.

V. Kiymets gave the opening address in Estonian and Russian.

The working organs of the congress were formed: the Secretariat, the Credentials Committee, the Drafting Committee and the Accounting Committee. Then the following agenda was confirmed:

1. The political report.
2. Information about Intermovement's program.
3. Information about Intermovement's charter.
4. The adoption of the congress' resolutions.
5. The elections for Intermovement's Coordinating Council.
6. The elections for Intermovement's Auditing Committee.

Yu. Rudnyak, a member of Intermovement's Coordinating Council, gave the political report.

Subsequently, discussions were begun on the report. Speakers in them included Comrade Morozov (Intermovement's information bulletin editorial staff), Comrade Lysenko (the Elektrotehnika NPO [Scientific Production Association]), Comrade Say (the Tartu Monitoring Equipment Plant), Comrade Broy, (the Tallinn 14th Secondary School), Comrade Kuvshinova (Avtotekhsnab), Comrade Yakushev (a pensioner), Comrade Shershev (the Elektrotehnika NPO), Comrade Volkov (the Estonian Civil Aviation

Administration), Comrade Konovalov (the Estremrybflot PO [Production Association]), Comrade Orlov (the Talleks PO, Payde), Comrade Mefodiyev (the Oktyabrskiy Party Raykom of Tallin), Comrade Karus-Konsuelo (the Baltic Manufacture Combine), Comrade Glukhov (the Tartu Monitoring Equipment Plant), Comrade Ivanova (the Tallin Electrical Engineering Plant imeni Kh. Pegelman), and Comrade Gusev (the Morskoy Party Raykom of Tallinn).

Representatives of the international movements of Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia also spoke at the congress.

According to the report of the congress' Credentials Committee, 749 delegates had been elected to it from 139 enterprises and organizations of 8 of the republic's cities. There were 742 delegates who participated in the work. Among the delegates, 53 percent are CPSU members and 5 percent are All-Union Leninist Komsomol members. White collar workers make up 65 percent of the delegates, blue collar workers 32 percent and students and pensioners 3 percent. The majority—421 delegates—are from 30 to 50 years old, 254 are over 50 and 74 are under 30. Elected as delegates were representatives of 22 ethnic groups, including 572 Russians, 78 Ukrainians, 38 Belorussians, 22 Jews and 11 Estonians.

Present at the congress are 125 guests and 21 representatives of the press.

N. Ganyushov, Estonian CP Central Committee secretary, and E. Cherevashko, an Estonian CP Central Committee department chief, participated in the congress' work.

The congress will continue its work on 5 March.

**ESSR Procurator's Office Denies Red Army Mass Murder Claim**

*18000727b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "In the Estonian SSR Procurator's Office"]

[Text] During the present period of perestroyka, the ESSR's law-enforcement agencies are engaged in the exoneration of Stalinism's victims—illegally repressed citizens, as well as the exposure of the circumstances under which the mass repressions occurred and of the persons guilty of committing them. The republic's public was informed of the fact that the ESSR Procurator's Office is conducting an investigation into the mass murders committed in 1941 in Kuressare, Tartu and at other sites on the ESSR's territory. In order to establish the victims and the scale of these and other mass repressions, the organs of the procurator's office have made wide use of the assistance of the public and needed information was obtained from the republic's mass media.

Along with genuine reports about the crimes of Stalinist times, fabrications which distort reality have also been published. Thus, the editorial staff of the magazine VIDKERKAAR in the November, 1988 issue published an article by M. Laar "The Time of Horrors," in which it is asserted that Red Army fighters or those of an assault battalion destroyed three villages in Estonia together with the inhabitants and that children were nailed to trees with actual nails. In fact, there were



absolutely no such misanthropic actions by fighters of the Red Army and the assault battalion in 1941 and M. Laar's assertions are false fabrications, the dissemination of which is subject to criminal punishment. This criminal matter has aroused the ESSR Procurator's Office.

**Lithuanian Researchers Address Yedinstvo**  
*18000910 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian*  
24 Mar 89 p 3

[Open letter by Viktoras Kutorga, et al.: "Preserving Common Sense and Faith in the Future: Message to Yedinstvo [Unity] From Medical Scientists"]

[Text] We have devoted our life and labor to a complicated task—the resolution of the tragic problem of the cancerous growth of the living cell. The roots of this morbid process, the essence of which lies in its uncontrollability, go far back into the very secret of the unusually constructive and not yet revealed phenomenon of life. It was born from a scale of death—one need compare only the desert surfaces of our satellite, the moon, and our neighboring planets, Venus and Mars, and the green expanses of our own Earth with the cities and villages, temples and universities—those creations of man—which have been firmly introduced into them.

But at the present time we are troubled by the negative phenomena of the socialist society that is close to us with regard to its humanitarian strivings and of its culture, in which we are figures. They include the inadmissible lack of understanding, not simply by fraternal nations but currently also allied nations, of the human truth: what it means for everyone to have his paternal home—his free state and his own native language. At the same time, even by analogy with our science—oncology—we are convinced that, if one takes a very attentive, businesslike approach, one can gradually and in a necessarily peaceful and just manner resolve all the social questions confronting us, so long as we do not spare the stubborn labor and inventiveness that this requires.

We cannot imagine our scientific search without contacts with our scientific colleagues from Minsk, Kiev, Sverdlovsk, Leningrad, and Moscow. As we work alongside them, and they work alongside us, we take one another's place behind the instruments and tables. In science the question of the language in which a person speaks does not exist—each attempts from childhood to master, understand, and be cognizant of the nuances (not simply to "study" drily) many languages—and is delighted to be able to use them at every meeting.

Our Russian comrades are pleased to hear Lithuanian spoken around them: they feel that friendly cooperation yields good fruit, and the black cloud of death by cancer, a cloud that threatens our people to an equal degree, begins to dissipate also in Lithuania, in Belorussia, and in other regions of Russia. Internationalism for us is not a theory. It is a way of life and of activity for the good of

those who are sorely suffering and who still are frequently—too frequently—dying. It is completely natural, when entering a person's office in Moscow, to greet one's colleagues in literary Russian and to say goodbye in Minsk with the pleasant Belorussian phrase "byvaytse, syabry." And it is just as natural in Vilnius and Kaunas to hear comrades arriving at a conference say their kind "laba diena" and "sveyki." Because in our country every worker in science has "his own" institute, his own laboratory, his own "home," and every institute and laboratory has its own outlook, its unique history: but we must love them all, value them all, be interested in all of them, cooperate with all of them, regardless of where they are situated—those are our principles and simply the air that we breathe. Doesn't an analogous situation exist in other areas of human interethnic activity? Including in our ancient Lithuania, the coeval of the Moscow state.

So you, the people to whom we are writing today, have written the beautiful word "unity." As you can see, it is equally cherished both by scientists and by people of labor on the entire planet, and, of course, by all socialists who are carrying out the ideal of real (rather than officially pontificated) friendship of people who work with their hands and who work with their heads, at all latitudes and longitudes on our planet. The unity of their family homes of every size, a unity that does not crowd anyone and that, of course, does not subordinate anyone, like the unity of the centers of mankind-loving science which were mentioned here and which, having been built in a country that is the home for a single nation, are cordially open for the science of all nations. This unity serves, of course, common constructive goals, and it is carried out exclusively in a peaceful manner, and not simply in a "proper" manner, but with great sensitivity and kindness. This is what Vladimir Ilich Lenin said repeatedly and categorically demanded, especially of representatives of the largest nationality in the Russian empire.

Let us hope that our generation, if it truly wants to build a society of socialist humanitarianism, will strive actively and patiently to eliminate the syndrome (that is, the total set of symptoms, as we say in medicine) of linguistic inequality and the violation of the organic integrity, the uniqueness of the home of our friend in the Union. Because it is this syndrome that should have been buried completely much earlier in our progressive country.

Are we really to believe that Yedinstvo can understand unity in Lithuania as something abstract, without relying on the attention paid to the home of one's coworker comrade, and, as it were, setting oneself off from it by one's indifference to the culture of the persons all around, and by the almost arrogant egocentrism? But our altruism and even our decency lie in the fact that, by our joint efforts, we are building a home for every separate family, for every separate nation, and this is by no means a conventional one. But it will inevitably become such if

it is destroyed every day by the lack of self-interestedness on the part of people who only declare their desire to be fellow-citizens. Actually, however, by disdaining the laws of friendship and even common sense, they make themselves almost foreigners, and then, when all the real opportunities are created for them for honest and meaningful socialist communal life, they suddenly resurrect features of the unkind past that were on the point of being forgotten.

Those cruel deeds and the words that accompany them are much too similar to the previous colonizations and the tendencies of assimilation that followed them, which processes were begun on the conquered Baltic lands by the Germans and on Lithuanian land after the third partition—by the authorities of Catherine the Great (first the Old Believers who were persecuted by the Orthodox Church were resettled to religiously tolerant Lithuania). The evaluation of these actions that was made by the Russian—and not only the Russian—democrats of several generations is generally known. The bright red banners strung across the streets and on building facades, proclaiming the “friendship of nations” that is good for all real people, only evoke bitterness in people by their being cut off from reality in a way that borders on hypocrisy.

The tasks of a socialism that has given itself the extremely complicated goal of becoming the most humanitarian form of communal life on the entire planet (on which there are more than 3000 languages, of which more than 1500 are so developed that the Bible has been published in them) are great for us during the period of democratization. They include, in particular, the creation of a system of general-educational schools that decisively raise the level of linguistic culture from the peoples of our country: in the 1920's there were approximately 100 of them. Emphasis must be placed on the best possible study in various schools of languages—both the neighboring ones with regard to each republic (for example, the study of Belorussian and Latvian in Lithuania, and of Lithuanian in Belorussia and Latvia) and foreign languages. This will eliminate the insufficiency that is inadmissible for internationalists, as well as what frequently is actually the formal nature of this very important component in the education of the man of the future. The introduction first of a small course in the international and uncomplicated language Esperanto is on the agenda for our school system.

Our dear friends—both men and women—in the fraternal nations, who are living not simply alongside of us on Lithuanian soil, but also together with us (people of science would not want to use here the obsolete words “minorities” or “nationalities”)! We medical scientists of Lithuania, like you, remember the unity of the people on the Earth and, naturally, we shall continue to follow that unity, in order—as is required by perestroika—while creating a strong republic, by showing respect to the home of each nation, to strengthen our common home. Because that common home also, unfortunately,

has suffered from the oversimplification, diktat, and inhumanity which have emanated, you will agree, basically not from people of Lithuanian nationality. Those enemies of perestroika who are trampling on democracy—and we shall say so clearly and firmly—have threatened and continue today to threaten the historical aspirations which led Vladimir Ilich Lenin to the idea of creating the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

But we also know that many of you came to live in Lithuania not in order to take it away from the Lithuanian nation, but in order to participate in the construction of our common home—because in this same friendly manner the Lithuanian nation has already proven, by its seven centuries of martial deeds, that it can bar to usurpers from the West the path to the Russian boundaries, it can promote the age-old Belorussian state system, and it can love the true Russian culture that is totally devoid of subservience, oppression, and fratricide. And that it agrees today, on the basis of mutual interests, to be beneficial for the Russians who are building their own Russia on the socialist path to the future, a path that is being cleared of the grievous errors: because, since time immemorial, Lithuania has been a country without a nobility. It was practically not a bourgeois country. This land entered our twentieth century as a peasant land (of course, not having avoided certain of the shortcomings evolving therefrom).

Both you and we know how fragile alliances between people are, even, for example, matrimonial alliances, and, at the same time, how many problems and different situations exist. But let us discuss them together and, hopefully, resolve them.

“Unity” or “Friendship of Nations” or “Brotherhood” or “Union,” like all ideals, do not come all at once. People must work constantly to learn them. Following this good advice, let us know learn a lot, participating in the affairs of a Lithuania that has endured a lot, that now bears, in addition to the merits, a share of the historic blame for its own fate. We medical scientists are appealing to Yedinstvo. We unite with you in our medical offices and operating rooms. Let us also respect one another and guard our peaceful homes. Let us guard our ancient feelings of hospitality and decency, our honesty and our common sense. Let us work painstakingly to preserve that which gradually and by a large amount of labor is being achieved by generations of people: the ability to live freely, equally, and in a brotherly manner, and by our alliances not to limit, but to increase those noble and natural, as well as indispensable, blessings of man.

With the participation of and with the consent of many colleagues and in their name: senior scientific associates at the LiSSR Scientific-Research Institute of Oncology, Viktoras Kutorga, Mariya Dagene, Pyatras Norkunas, Pranas Baltrushaytis, Yonas Tutkus, and department head Yonas Vaytkyavichyus.

### **Soviet Liberation of Klaipeda Described**

18000723 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian  
22 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by V. Klevtsov, doctor of historical sciences, professor: "Klaipeda, 1939"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] *"During the war I served as an artillery spotter in the Baltic Fleet and took part in the liberation of several cities in the Baltic region. Among them was Klaipeda, which, to be sure, then had another name—Memel.*

*The city is Lithuanian, but before the war it belonged to Germany. Why? I recall that during a break in the fighting our commander explained this to us. But, after so many years, I have, alas, forgotten the explanation, and I would like to know the answer.*

*I. NIKIFOROV, participant in the Great Patriotic War."*

*Odintsovo Moscow Oblast.*

We will not conceal the fact that we saved this reader's letter, which was received some time ago, specifically for today's issue. The fact is that 23 March marks exactly 50 years from the day that Klaipeda was turned over to Fascist Germany. We have requested a scholar—Professor V.G. KLEVTSOV, doctor of historical sciences, and an eyewitness of these long-ago events—Retired Major-General P.P. PETRONIS to answer N. Nikiforov's question and thereby shed light on one of the dramatic pages of Lithuania's prewar history.

### **Prologue to a Great Tragedy: A Scholar's Testimony**

The "Munich Pact" between Fascist Germany and the governments of the Western Powers opened up the floodgates for a new wave of aggressive acts in March 1939: Czechoslovakia was seized and dismembered, and Republican Spain perished in flowing blood. Klaipeda and Klaipeda Oblast was subjected to Fascist occupation. The world was on the last line before a new, great tragedy—World War II.

Hemmed in between two large countries—Aristocratic Poland and Germany, little Lithuania was denied egress to the Baltic seaports for a long period of time. After World War I, in accordance with the Versailles Treaty, Klaipeda (Memel) together with its adjacent territory was governed by the League of Nations. It was not until 1923 that this port came to be annexed by Lithuania, and in May 1924 France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan signed a special convention in Paris according to the terms of which Klaipeda Oblast was recognized as a constituent part of Lithuania. The above-mentioned states thus became its guarantors.

Relations between Lithuania and Germany were always tense. Germany kept constantly presenting claims against the little Baltic state. Under Hitler the anti-Lithuanian line was sharply intensified. Nazi Secret Service agents were functioning actively in Klaipeda, relying on their bases in Königsberg and Tilsit. The Nazis often resorted to acts of sabotage and terror. So-called "forefathers' passports" were sent from Germany to Lithuania, as well as to neighboring Latvia and Estonia. Such "passports" were addressed to Germans living there for the purpose of reinforcing their racial [ethnic] membership. The Nazis consistently and methodically prepared "small Sudetens" in the Baltic region, similar to the one in Czechoslovakia.

The finale, however, proved to be even more shamefully vile and cynical; it was expressed in an ultimatum from Ribbentrop, Germany's minister of foreign affairs. Here is how these events were described by Yuožas Urbšius, Lithuania's minister of foreign affairs at that time: "...It was 20 March 1939 in Ribbentrop's large office on the Wilhelmstrasse....I wanted to present certain measures for the purpose of averting an armed conflict and to obtain assurances that Germany would not undertake steps leading to a violation of Lithuania's territorial integrity.... At the time of my visit I began to set forth my ideas. However, Ribbentrop crudely interrupted me and presented the following ultimatum: Lithuania must immediately turn Klaipeda Oblast over to Germany...."

Not a single voice of protest was raised by the Western or Eastern guarantors in defense of this victim and its legitimate rights. Lithuania was compelled to capitulate.

In order to publicly demean [humiliate] Lithuania, Hans Globke (a Lithuanian Nazi), the head of the German Mission, extracted from the distraught government a statement to the effect that it was "voluntarily" returning Klaipeda to "fraternal Germany." on 23 March 1939 Fascist-German troops entered the port city.

However, Lithuania's tragedy did not end with this. On 20 September 1939, when World War II was already raging, the Smetona government, under pressure from Germany (with which it secretly sympathized), consented to its own immolation: it approved the draft of a secret treaty according to which Lithuania accepted the status of a "protectorate of the German Reich."

Lithuania was then saved by the Soviet Union, which carried out a campaign of liberation in the Western regions of the Ukraine and Belorussia. The Soviet government not only stopped the imminent occupation of Lithuania, but also returned to the latter its ancient capital Vilnius and Vilnius Oblast, liberated from the oppressive yoke of Aristocratic Poland. Such an act could be carried out only by a socialist state guarding the national independence of peoples and guided by the principles of socialist internationalism.



The liberation of Klaipeda Oblast and its final return to the bosom of its native republic took place when, in 1944, the Army of the First Baltic Front (commanded by General I.Kh. Bagramyan) and the Army of the Third Belorussian Front (commanded by General I.D. Chernyakovskiy) conducted the Large Memel Operation. A reinforced German group resisted furiously here for three months. But by 28 January 1945 the resistance had been broken, and Soviet troops captured Klaipeda by an assault. Troops of the 16th Lithuanian Infantry Division fought heroically for the liberation of their own land, along with other units of the Soviet Army. After the fighting for the port city, they were given the honorary title of "Klaipeda." Soldiers of various nationalities fought in the ranks of this division. It was specifically due to the friendship, close alliance, sincere trust and respect among our country's peoples that we succeeded, in large part, in extricating the world from the tragedy of World War II, the prologue to which had been, in particular, the annexation of Klaipeda by Hitler's Germany. In the very end, this tragic prologue was replaced by a happy ending—such was the force of internationalism. We must not forget this lesson taught by history.

#### **Wider Use Of Azeri Demanded**

18310021a

[Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN MUALLIMI in Azeri on 4 January 1989 carries on page 2 a 1900 word article by Z. Buc'agova, director of the Nasimi Institute of Linguistics of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences, headlined "Problems Stemming from Life" on the need to expand the circle of the official use of the Azeri language. She notes that "15 out of the republic's 16 higher schools teach in Azeri. In 3,196 out of 4,434 secondary schools instruction is in the mother tongue. The main issue is the absence of administrative and official forms in Azeri." She recommends that Azeri be used more widely at official gatherings "but one must consider the national composition of the audience." She outlines a number of publishing efforts aimed at increasing Azeri language knowledge among non-Azeris and in aid of Azeri-Russian bilingualism.

#### **Official Neglect Of Azeri Language Criticized**

18310021c

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 25 January 1989 carries on pp 2,3 a 2100 word article by Vagif Aslanov, leading scientific worker at the Nasimi Institute of Linguistics of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences, headlined "The Mother Tongue is Our Mother", urging an increase in the use of Azeri as the official state language. "If 99 percent of all meetings and office work at our main scientific center—the AzSSR Academy of Sciences -- is not in Azeri, how can we talk of concern for the republic's state language?" He points out that a number of steps must be taken to expand Azeri's circle of usage: "One question which must be resolved at once is the translation of all forms used in state organs, institutions and administrations into Azeri." He also implies

that a poor knowledge of Azeri could become a political liability: "The first psychological barrier confronted by leading workers when they have to go among the people is a poor knowledge of the mother tongue."

#### **Institute Director on Strengthening Azeri Language Use**

18310021d

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 27 January 1989 carries on pp 1,6 a 2100 word interview with Yashar Garayev, director of the Nizami Institute of Literature of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences, headlined "The Fate of the Language and the People is One," on the important role held by language in a national state. "It is regrettable that during the long years of stagnation technical progress was accompanied by ecological impoverishment. Continuing this observation on the basis of a mutual relationship between cultural progress and spiritual ecology, I wish to say that the rapprochement of national cultures, undoubtedly a progressive progress, has led to nauseating situations both in act and deed." He points out that "according to one thesis which was in style the ideal result of contact between languages would be that one of them would be forced out gradually, thus creating the possibility that it would be completely replaced by the other." Among the factors impeding the development of Azeri he notes that "by changing the alphabet, we artificially broke our national culture into pieces and deprived future generations of their national roots. The alphabet used by a whole generation of Azeris, from the 1920s to 1940s, was changed twice!" He adds that in the late 1930s "our language and culture suffered heavy damage in terms of consciousness and ideas due to mass repressions and persecutions. Vulgar banalizers became more zealous and in 1937 the laws connected with the individuality and uniqueness of the person were 'exposed' and condemned as 'bourgeois liberties'." He cites an article written by Academician Likhachov in which the Decembrists were referred to as a 'purely Russian' movement, and claims that Likhachov searches for the 'unique Russian idea' throughout Russia's history and "states with pride that 'Russia is a personality'. As for applying a scientific view of such scope to our national history and working out a concept of the 'personality' of Azerbaijan, this is a task that still stands before us." Pointing out that Azeri received received status as an official language in 1923, he states that "this decree was completely forgotten. There were even people who considered the passing of such decrees as 'nationalist manifestations'. While an article in the republic constitution confirms the legitimacy of Azeri as a state language, there is no basis for saying that this article has been fully implemented. We must consider that a factor complicating the situation is that the status, functions and usages of national languages and Russian as a means of inter-national communication have not been fully defined by law." He says that official organizations in Azerbaijan are now beginning to follow the lead of Georgia, Estonia, Belorussia and the Ukraine in strengthening the official use of the national language.

**Draft of Georgian Language Program Submitted for Public Discussion**

18130017 Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian  
3 Nov 88 pp 3-4

[Draft program: "State Georgian Language Program. Care, Further Development, Universal Adoption, Scientific Study, and Teaching of the Georgian Literary Language": first four paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] At the initiative and direction of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute, Tbilisi State University, the Georgian SSR Ministry of Education, the Georgian SSR Writers Union, the Rustaveli Society Presidium, and eminent figures in science, literature, and the arts have drawn up a DRAFT STATE PROGRAM FOR THE FURTHER

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GEORGIAN LANGUAGE, the purpose of which is the care, further development, universal adoption, and scientific study and teaching of the Georgian literary language.

The purpose of the State Georgian Language Program is to submit for study, discussion, and resolution those problems having to do with the establishment and strengthening of the constitutional rights of the Georgian language, more intensive scientific research on the Georgian language, and the teaching of the Georgian language on the appropriate level in secondary and higher institutions of learning.

After the people of the republic have discussed the project and expressed their opinions, the State Georgian Language Program will be approved. Implementation of it is designed to promote the constitutional functioning of Georgian as the state language of the Georgian SSR in all state and social institutions and organizations.

**THE FUNCTION OF ORGANIZING AND COORDINATING THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE STATE GEORGIAN LANGUAGE PROGRAM IS ASSIGNED TO THE RUSTAVELI SOCIETY PRESIDUM AND THE BOARD OF THE GEORGIAN WRITERS UNION.**

Problem	Executor	Timetable	Control
<b>1. CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF THE GEORGIAN LANGUAGE</b>			
1. The functioning of Georgian as the republic's state language in party, soviet, administrative, scientific-research, and cultural and economic institutions and all enterprises	Officials of appropriate organizations and departments	Periodically	Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Georgian SSR Council of Ministers
2. Creation of an Inspection Council under the jurisdiction of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers Permanent State Commission to Establish the Norms of the Georgian Literary Language, said Council to be invested with the appropriate rights of monitoring observance of the norms of the literary language and working out effective measures to establish the norms of the literary language	Georgian SSR Council of Ministers	1988	Georgian SSR Council of Ministers
3. Creation of conditions in all institutions and enterprises to help citizens of non-Georgian nationality living in the republic master the Georgian language	Officials of appropriate institutions and enterprises	Periodically	Oblast, city, and rayon Soviets of Peoples Deputies
4. Creation of conditions to promote the development and publication of literature in every field of science in the Georgian language	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, Georgian SSR Ministry of Culture, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat	Periodically	Collegium of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, Presidium of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences

## II. SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE GEORGIAN LANGUAGE

1. Study of the Georgian language in its sociolinguistic aspect	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute, Tbilisi State University	1988-2000	Presidium of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences
2. Drafting of a multi-volume academic course of the Georgian language	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute	1988-2000	Presidium of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences
3. Preparation of scientific terminology dictionaries:	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute		Presidium of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences
a) Dictionary of mathematical terms		1988-90	
b) Dictionary of economic terms		1990-92	
4. Preparation of a school dictionary of the Georgian language	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute	1988-92	Presidium of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, Ministry of Public Education
5. Preparation of encyclopedic handbook, "Georgian Language"	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute, Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia	1988-95	Presidium of Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences
6. Preparation of dialectological dictionaries:	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute		Presidium of Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences
a) Khevsurian		1988-90	
b) Pshavian		1990-92	
c) Gurian		1988-92	
d) Ingilo		1988-89	
7. Study of the language and style of scientific works and the mass media; discussion of recommendations worked out as a result of the study for purposes of their universal adoption in the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers Permanent Commission to Establish the Norms of the Georgian Literary Language	Georgian SSR Council of Ministers Permanent Commission to Establish the Norms of the Georgian Literary Language, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute	Periodically	Georgian SSR Council of Ministers
8. Organization of international Kartvelology symposiums and meetings for purposes of coordinating scientific works, information exchange, and discussion	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Department of Language and Literature, Tbilisi State University	Once every 2 or 3 years	Presidium of Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education

## III. TEACHING OF GEORGIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN PRESCHOOL ESTABLISHMENTS AND SECONDARY AND HIGHER INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING

1. Compilation of programs of Georgian speech development for various age groups in preschool institutions	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, I. Gogebashvili Scientific-Research Institute of Pedagogy, Tbilisi A.S. Pushkin State Pedagogical Institute	1989	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
2. Preparation of appropriate literature and visual aids in the Georgian language for preschool-age children	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, I. Gogebashvili Scientific-Research Institute of Pedagogy, Tbilisi A.S. Pushkin State Pedagogical Institute	1990-91	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
3. Reworking of Georgian language curricula and syllabi for the preschool upbringing specialty of pedagogical institutes and secondary specialized schools	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, Tbilisi A.S. Pushkin State Pedagogical Institute, I. Gogebashvili Scientific-Research Institute of Pedagogy	1989-90	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education



4. Certification of teachers and methodologists in preschool institutions in order to enhance the quality of Georgian speech	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	1990	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
5. Compilation of Georgian language and literature programs for the republic's secondary schools	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, departments of appropriate institutions of higher learning of the republic, Georgian Writers Union, Institute of the History of Georgian Literature, Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute	1989	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
6. Compilation of Georgian language and literature textbooks appropriate to the new programs	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, departments of appropriate institutions of higher learning of the republic, Georgian Writers Union, Institute of the History of Georgian Literature, Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute	1992-93	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
7. Creation of an office to coordinate and settle language instruction problems in the system of upbringing and education	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	1989	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
8. Compilation of illustrated topical dictionaries	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	1989-90	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
9. Creation of original Georgian-language textbooks in all disciplines and on a high scientific level for the republic's secondary and higher education	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, departments of the appropriate institutions of higher learning in the republic, Georgian Writers Union, Institute of the History of Georgian Literature, Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute	1989-93	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
10. Drafting of proposals concerning the possibility of introducing compulsory instruction of the Georgian language in the republic's non-Georgian schools (Russian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Abkhazian, and Ossetian)	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	First half of 1989	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
11. Drafting of a unified syllabus for the phased teaching of Georgian in grades 1 through 11 (orthography and speech, fundamentals of Georgian grammar, problems of practical Georgian composition, fundamental problems of Georgian lexicology)	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, departments of appropriate institutions of higher learning in the republic, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute	1990	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
12. Preparation of extracurricular readers (chrestomathies) and visual aids (paleographic albums, photo reproductions of samples of Georgian art, Georgian grammar charts, posters)	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	1989-93	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
13. Drafting of proposals establishing enrollment of Georgian language and literature groups of 10 to 15 students in secondary schools, vocational-technical schools, secondary-specialized schools, and institutions of higher learning	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	1989	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
14. Formation of departments of Georgian speech cultivation in republic's institutions of higher learning	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	From 1989	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education

15. Reinstatement of oral examination in Georgian language and literature for secondary school graduates enrolling in humanities departments of institutions of higher learning; introduction of interview-exams on Georgian language and literature prior to entrance examinations for secondary school graduates enrolling in Russian, Armenian, and Azerbaijani sectors	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	1989	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
16. Introduction of theoretical and practical courses in the Georgian language in the faculties of Russian language and literature, Abkhazian language and literature, Ossetian language and literature, Armenian language and literature, and Azerbaijani language and literature in Georgia's institutions of higher learning	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	1989	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
17. Creation of simultaneous translation courses in the appropriate faculties of Georgia's institutions of higher learning (Georgian-Russian, Georgian-English, Georgian-German, Georgian-French, Georgian-Spanish)	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	1989-1993	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
18. Creation of Georgian language and literature offices in all the republic's secondary schools, vocational-technical schools, and secondary-specialized schools	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute, Institute of the History of Georgian Literature, Georgian Writers Union	1988-1995	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
19. Preparation of bilingual dictionaries for schools:	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Linguistics Institute, Linguistics Institute [sic], Abkhazia's D. Gulia Institute of Language, Literature, and History	1988-1995	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education
a) Georgian-Russian b) Russian-Georgian c) Georgian-Abkhazian d) Abkhazian-Georgian e) Georgian-Ossetian f) Ossetian-Georgian g) Georgian-Abkhazian phrase books h) Georgian-Ossetian phrase books		Periodically	
20. Active assistance for Georgian schools and Georgian language study groups outside the republic	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education	Periodically	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education

#### IV. TELEVISION AND CINEMATOGRAPHY

1. Strengthening of the Georgian State Television and Radio Committee's material-technical base and allocation of additional staff slots and fees for the dubbing of Georgian television's Russian-language broadcasts (commentaries, lectures, and feature films) into Georgian	Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Georgian State Television and Radio Committee	1989-90	Georgian SSR Council of Ministers
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2. Strengthening and expansion of the material-technical base of the Gruzija-Film Studio in order to create Georgian subtitles for films in Russian and foreign languages

Georgian SSR Ministry of Culture, Gosplan, Gossnab, and Georgian SSR Ministry of Finance

1989-90

Georgian SSR Council of Ministers

#### V. PRESS

1. Examination of problems of Georgian language, literature, and culture in the republic press

Republic newspapers

Periodically

Georgian Journalists Union

2. Introduction of special rubrics in republic newspapers to feature materials concerning the history of the Georgian language, how it functions under contemporary conditions, and preservation of the purity of the Georgian literary language

Republic newspapers

1988

Georgian Journalists Union

#### VI. COMMUNICATIONS

1. Providing the republic telegraph network with Georgian type font printing equipment

Tbilisi 50-letie KPSS Production Association, Georgian SSR Ministry of Communications

13th 5-year plan

Georgian SSR Council of Ministers

2. Publication of telephone book in Georgian

Georgian SSR Ministry of Communications, Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Publishing House

1989

Georgian SSR Ministry of Communications

#### VII. TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT AND VISUAL AIDS

1. Equipping the republic's secondary schools and institutions of higher learning with Georgian-language computers

Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, Georgian Gosplan

Periodically

Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, Ministry of Public Education

2. Equipping the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute and Institute of the History of Georgian Literature with Georgian-language personal computers

Georgian SSR Gosplan, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences

1989-90

Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium

3. Prototype of personal computer complex equipped with Georgian type font

Georgian affiliate of All-Union Scientific-Research Institute for Applied Automation Systems

1989

Georgian SSR Council of Ministers

4. Centralized manufacture of Georgian type fonts and installation of them on typewriters

Georgian SSR Gosplan, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat, Georgian SSR Ministry of Communal and Consumer Services, Tbilisi Machine Repair Plant

1989

Georgian SSR Council of Ministers

5. Preparation and publication of Georgian-language school atlas of the Georgian SSR

Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Vakhushti Bagrationi Geography Institute, Georgian SSR Ministry of Education, Cartography Factory, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat

1989-90

Georgian SSR Ministry of Education, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences

6. Preparation and publication of Georgian-language atlas of the Georgian SSR

Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Vakhushti Bagrationi Geography Institute, Cartography Factory, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat

1989-1996

Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

7. Preparation and publication of Georgian-language maps for scientific and educational purposes:

Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Vakhushti Bagrationi Geography Institute, Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute, Ivane Dzhavakhishvili Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography, Cartography Factory

1990-91

Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium



- a) Historical
- b) Physical
- c) Political
- d) Demographic
- e) Ecological
- f) Linguistic

8. Preparation and publication of Georgian-language world globe	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Vakhushti Bagrationi Geography Institute, Cartography Factory	1989-90	Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
9. Preparation and publication of atlas compiled by Vakhushti Bagrationi	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Vakhushti Bagrationi Geography Institute, Cartography Factory	1990-95	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium

# VIII. PUBLISHING

1. Development and publication of multi-volume academic course in the Georgian language	Metsniereba Publishing House	1988-2000	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium
2. Publication of "Georgian Language" encyclopedic handbook	Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat	1995-97	Georgian SSR Council of Ministers
3. Publication of dictionaries of scientific terms:	Metsniereba Publishing House, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat		Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
a) Dictionary of mathematical terms		1990-92	
b) Dictionary of economic terms		1992-94	
4. Publication of Georgian school dictionary	Ganatileba Publishing House	1992-94	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
5. Publication of bilingual school dictionaries:	Ganatileba Publishing House, Alashara Publishing House	1995-98	Georgian SSR Ministry of Public Education, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
a) Georgian-Russian			
b) Russian-Georgian			
c) Georgian-Abkhazian			
d) Abkhazian-Georgian			
e) Georgian-Abkhazian phrase books			
6. Publication of dialectological dictionaries:	Metsniereba, Ganatileba publishing houses		Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
a) Khevsurian		1990-92	
b) Pshavian		1992-94	
c) Gurian		1992-94	
d) Ingilo		1989-91	
7. Publication of speech development programs for various age groups in preschool institutions	Ganatileba Publishing House	1990	Georgian SSR Ministry of Education, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
8. Publication of appropriate literature and visual materials for preschool-age children	Ganatileba Publishing House	1991-1993	Georgian SSR Ministry of Education, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
9. Publication of Georgian language and literature textbooks for the new programs	Ganatileba Publishing House	Periodically	Georgian SSR Ministry of Education, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
10. Publication of original textbooks, of high-quality printing, for all disciplines in secondary and higher education	Ganatileba Publishing House	Periodically	Georgian SSR Ministry of Education, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
11. Publication of extracurricular readers (chrestomathies) and visual materials (paleographic albums, photo reproductions of samples of Georgian art, Georgian grammar charts, posters)	Ganatileba Publishing House	Periodically	Georgian SSR Ministry of Education, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat

12. Publication of Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's two-volume dictionary (by subscription)	Ganatileba Publishing House	1989-1990	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
13. Annotated dictionary of persons, in eight volumes (by subscription)	Metsniereba Publishing House	1989-1999	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
14. Publication of "Orthographic Dictionary of the Georgian Language" by V. Topuria and I. Giginishvili	Ganatileba Publishing House	1989-1991	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
15. Publication of "Dictionary of Foreign Words" by M. Chabashvili	Ganatileba Publishing House	1990-1991	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
16. Publication of Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani's selective dictionary	Ganatileba Publishing House	1990-1991	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
17. Publication of N. Khundadze's "Georgian Stenographic Dictionary"	Ganatileba Publishing House	1990-1991	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
18. Publication of one-volume "Explanatory Dictionary of the Georgian Language"	Main Scientific Editorial Board of Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia	1990-1991	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
19. Publication of T. Todua's "Russian-Georgian Phrase Book"	Ganatileba Publishing House	1990	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
20. Publication of "Short German-Georgian Dictionary" by Ts. Beglarishvili et al	Ganatileba Publishing House	1990-1991	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
21. Publication of E. Okropiridze's "Georgian-French Dictionary"	Ganatileba Publishing House	1991-1992	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
22. Publication of R. Gorgadze's "Georgian-Armenian Dictionary"	Ganatileba Publishing House	1992-1994	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
23. Publication of R. Gorgadze's "Armenian-Georgian Dictionary"	Ganatileba Publishing House	1992-1994	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
24. Publication of "Azerbaijani-Georgian Dictionary" by A. Musayev and V. Dzhangidze	Ganatileba Publishing House	1992-1994	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
25. Publication of "Georgian-Azerbaijani Dictionary" by V. Dzhangidze and N. Nasibov	Ganatileba Publishing House	1993-1994	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
26. Publication of "Azerbaijani Phrase Book" by M. Chinchaladze and G. Chobanov	Ganatileba Publishing House	1990	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
27. Publication of "Armenian-Georgian Phrase Book" by R. Gorgadze and V. Pogorian	Ganatileba Publishing House	1990	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
28. Publication of "Georgian-Azerbaijani Phrase Book" by N. Dzhnanashia, M. Chinchaladze, and A. Musayev	Ganatileba Publishing House	1990	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
29. Publication of Russian-Georgian and Georgian-Russian phrase books by K. Krasnykh and Sh. Todua	Ganatileba Publishing House	1991	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
30. Publication of 10-volume historical dictionary of the Georgian language	Sabchota Sakartvelo Publishing House	1989-1999	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
31. Publication and mass printing of Georgian self-taught manuals	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Arnold Chikobava Linguistics Institute	1989-1990	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
32. Publication of classics of Georgian literature	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat, Sh. Rustaveli Georgian Literature Institute, Georgian SSR Writers Union	Periodically	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences

33. Publication of Shota Rustaveli's "Knight in the Panther's Skin" and popularization of the work via the press, radio, television, cinema, theater, and various competitions	Sh. Rustaveli Georgian Literature Institute, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat, Georgian SSR Writers, Cinematographers, and Theater unions, Georgian SSR Ministry of Culture, State Television and Radio Committee, Rustaveli Society, Melodiya Saksigni	Periodically	Sh. Rustaveli Georgian Literature Institute
34. Determination of print runs of works on problems of Georgian language and literature in accordance with the needs of the appropriate scientific institutions and publishing houses		Periodically	Sh. Rustaveli Georgian Literature Institute
35. Maximum provision of works on Georgian language and literature to the republic's libraries	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat, Georgian SSR Ministry of Culture	Periodically	Georgian SSR Ministry of Culture
36. Publication of popular reference pamphlets and dictionaries in the languages of the world concerning Georgian language and literature	Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, Georgian SSR Goskomizdat, Georgian Writers Union, Georgian SSR Ministry of Culture	Periodically	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat
37. Creation of Georgian language and literature desk based in the Sabchota Sakartvelo Publishing House	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat	1989	Georgian SSR Council of Ministers
38. Publication and mass printing of a variety of Georgian-language notebooks, calendars, and greeting cards	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat	Periodically	Georgian SSR Goskomizdat

KOMUNISTI's editors request that readers express their opinions, criticisms, and suggestions concerning the draft state program.

OUR ADDRESS: 380096, Tbilisi, Lenin Street No 14, editors of KOMUNISTI.

#### Teachers Discuss Approach To Kirghiz Language 18330013b

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz on 8 January 1989 carries on page 2 an 1160 word round table discussion "On the Public Status of the Kirghiz Language and Problems in Teaching Language and Literature"; discussants were Kirghiz language secondary school teachers. It was pointed out that "if Kirghiz is not used at the state level or at major tribunals, it will be headed for destruction. The first requirement for preserving and developing the language is to create a need for it. If we are limited to only teaching Kirghiz to other nationalities in the republic or giving lessons in clubs and schools, we will not achieve the basic goal; it is essential that a person learning this or any other language need it not only today, but also in the future, and that without it, he will face difficulties." A number of round table participants urged the expansion of Kirghiz language kindergarden education, and the broadening of the use of Kirghiz in higher schools. The shortage of Kirghiz language textbooks and orthographic dictionaries was also mentioned.

#### Tajik Measures to Expand Vernacular Usage Examined

18300557 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA  
in Russian 5 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by U. G. Usmanov, deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers: "To Resurrect the Force and Expressiveness of the Language"]

[Text] Never in the entire history of existence of the Soviet state has the problem of the functioning of national languages in the republics been presented so acutely and discussed so broadly and polemically as it is today. This problem did not bypass Tadzhikistan. Under current conditions, the very natural desire to accede to the formulated public opinion, to resurrect the force and expressiveness of the Tajik language, and to make it into one of the means of everyday communication of people of different nationalities has prompted the resolution by the Tadzhikistan CP Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers "On Measures for Developing the Study and Instruction of the Tajik Language in the Republic".

Almost a year has passed since its publication. What has actually been done to implement this resolution? Evidently, this question is of interest to absolutely all the people living in the republic, without exception.

"Anyone who has read the resolution closely," said Tajik SSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman U. G. Usmanov in response to this question, which was posed by a TajikTA correspondent, "cannot help but notice the



concern which the republic's leadership is exhibiting in regard to the serious shortcomings in the study and teaching of the Tajik language".

These shortcomings are most clearly evidenced by the current level of the spoken and written language, and not only among the learners and the student youth, but also among a certain portion of the school teachers, VUZ instructors, and other categories of the intelligentsia. This level still remains low. Recently, there has been a noted attempt toward archaization of the literary language, its contamination with dialecticisms, and a careless attitude toward establishing the standards of orthography and terminology. At the same time, there is still a significant between the conversational and literary language.

The resolution adopted by the Tadzhikistan CP Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers noted that many textbooks and instructional aids, methodological developments and scientific recommendations in the field of study and instruction of the Tajik language do not yet meet current requirements. Insufficient attention is being given to questions of developing the language of the press, the theatre, original and translated fictional literature, and to the development of scientific principles and unification of socio-political and scientific-technical terminology of the modern Tajik language. Work among the population on development and propaganda of linguistic culture is not being performed at the proper level.

All this has placed in the forefront two interdependent tasks: On one hand, we must create the most favorable conditions possible for the development of the Tajik literary language and elevate the general culture of speech. On the other—we must provide overall qualified aid in assimilation of the Tajik language to those people who as yet have not mastered it.

Today, almost a year later, we cannot maintain that the acuteness of these questions has been removed. They are current, as before. However, much has already been done, and this instills confidence in the possibility of successfully achieving the outlined goals.

The republic's Ministry of Public Education has developed the integrated program "Tajik language", in accordance with which the hours of instruction in language and literature in the 4th-5th grades have been increased. In the 9th-10th grades the instruction in the native language is continued, and not terminated as was the case before. Also, a program has been created for studying the Tajik language in the primary grades of schools where Russian is the language of instruction.

Work has begun on the development of programs for schools with intensive study of the Tajik language and literature. A laboratory for intensive study of the Tajik language has been opened at Secondary School No 91 in Dushanbe. Starting in 1989, all the faculties of higher

educational institutions will offer a mandatory course in the "Tajik language" and a brief course on "History of Tajik literature". An all-university department of Tajik language and literature has been formed at TGU [Tajik State University] imeni V. I. Lenin.

Educational television and radio broadcasts have been organized on Tajik language study. Within the framework of this series, meetings are being organized with teacher-innovators. It is true that the special broadcasts for children still do not everywhere reach their intended audiences, since far from all children's pre-school institutions have radio reception.

Much attention is being given to solving the linguistic problem at the enterprises and in the organizations. Many labor collectives have created Tajik language study groups. Yet even here we cannot do without a critical comment: The conditions for those wishing to study the Tajik language have still not been created everywhere. At a number of the enterprises in the republic's Minbyt [Ministry of Consumer Services], courses are being offered for Tajik language typists and stenographers, of whom there is presently a shortage.

The Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature imeni A. Rudaki, working in conjunction with the Ministries of Public Education and Culture, held a scientific conference on "Vital Problems in Speech Culture". There was a beneficial roundtable discussion held on the problems of language and modern drama, in which the republic's leading scientists and cultural leaders participated.

The work of the republic's Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade] has been stepped up. An entire series of dictionaries, phrase books, and methodological developments have already been published to serve as an aid in studying the Tajik language. In the current year, the "Self-Teacher of the Tajik Language", the first volume of the "School Russian-Tajik Dictionary", and "A Brief Russian-Tajik Dictionary on Cybernetics and Computer Technology" will come out in print. A coordinating council on literature translation has been created under Goskomizdat. In the current year the journal TADZHIKSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA [Tajik Language and Literature] will be published.

With the aid of the "Tadzhikfilm" studio, the republic's film library has organized the production of film strips in the Tajik language for students of secondary general education schools and for the pupils of children's pre-school institutions. An instructional film on Tajik literature, "Abuali ibn Sino", was made for the upper grades.

An audio supplement to the Tajik language textbook for the 5-6th grades has been developed. Phonograph recordings have been made of the works of S. Ayni, M. Tursun-zade, M. Kanoat, L. Sheral, B. Rakhim-zade, G.

Safiyeva, and other Tajik writers and poets. A work group has been created for developing materials for audio supplements to aid Tajik language and literature teachers.

We must note that the solution to the problem is largely hindered by the weak material base for teaching the Tajik language and literature. As yet, only a few departments are equipped with audiolingual facilities. There are not enough methodological developments or visual aids. For purposes of strengthening the material base for instruction, capital investments in the sum of 2.6 million rubles are planned for 1989 to be used for the purchase of equipment not contained in the construction estimates. The republic's Ministry of Public Education has concluded an agreement with the Moscow scientific-production cooperative "Priborservis" for the delivery and installation of displays in the sum of 1 million rubles.

Nevertheless, a recent control conference at the Council of Ministers which examined the course of implementation of the resolution noted that there are still many shortcomings and omissions. Work on bringing closer together the literary and conversational language, as well as on purging the literary language of archaisms and dialecticisms, is proceeding at a slow pace. The development of textbooks in the republic cycle of disciplines has dragged on, including also textbooks on the Tajik language and literature. Scientists do not adequately participate in their development, even though an open republic-wide competition was announced for the purpose of selecting the best textbooks.

Based on this fact, the appropriate ministries and departments must take exhaustive measures to eliminate the shortcomings in the implementation of the resolution. Specifically, the Ministry of Public Education and the republic's Academy of Sciences have been charged with stepping up work on preparing and publishing textbooks and instructional aids on the Tajik language and literature, and on the history of the Tajik people. In the near future, a Coordinating Council on the Tajik Language will be created within the Academy of Sciences. This will make it possible to facilitate the development of the scientific principles of terminology and orthography of the Tajik language and to create on this basis the appropriate dictionaries and instructional aids.

The ministries of culture and trade, as well as the republic's Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] have been charged with the continued production and widespread sale of phonograph records of recorded Tajik language lessons, as well as the best examples of literary speech.

The attention of the republic's ministries and departments was focused on the inadequate work which their subordinate enterprises are doing in creating the necessary conditions for those wishing to study the Tajik language. The oblgorrayispolkoms [oblast city rayon

ispolkoms] were ordered to take urgent measures for providing radio reception to children's preschool institutions for purposes of organizing the radio lessons "We study the Tajik language".

All these measures will make it possible to accelerate the implementation of the resolution of the Tadzhikistan CP Central Committee and the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers, and this is of utmost importance to the entire population of the republic.

"I must stress," said U. G. Usmanov in conclusion, "that there is another resolution of the Tadzhikistan CP Central Committee and the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers which was adopted at the same time and which is also kept under constant control. That is, "On Measures for the Continued Development of Russian Language Study and Instruction in the Republic". However, this deserves a separate, equally serious discussion.

#### **GSSR MVD Official on Conditions, Procedures for Travel Abroad**

*18300474 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
17 Feb 89 p 4*

[Letter with commentary: "Visiting By Invitation"]

[Text] Dear Editorial Staff:

It is delightful to note that perestroika, democratization, and glasnost touch on such an important question as the departure of Soviet citizens abroad. I have in mind not only on personal business for temporary residence but also for permanent residence abroad. The number of foreign citizens who come to the USSR both as visitors and for permanent residence is not smaller. I am interested (and I'm probably not the only one) in what kind of problems exist around these processes."

*[Signed] Medeya Lomidze, worker at the Tbilisi NII Cardiology.*

**ZARYA VOSTOKA** correspondent Shalva Svani asked deputy head of the Department for the Preservation of Public Order of the republic MVD Givi Natsvlashvili and the head of the OVIR passport department of this office Temuri Sanadze to answer this question.

In answering the reader of your newspaper, says Givi Natsvlashvili, let us analyze how the exit of Soviet citizens abroad on personal business for a temporary stay, or for permanent residence is now accomplished, and how the arrival of foreign citizens in our country by invitation for a temporary stay or for permanent residence is now accomplished.

Any inhabitant of our republic 18 years old or older and who has, of course, an invitation, may apply to the organs of internal affairs at his place of permanent residence with an application for temporary exit from the USSR. This invitation may be from not only a close

relative but also from friends and acquaintances with whom he maintains a connection. From April of last year, the registration procedure for a temporary trip abroad was significantly simplified. And not less important, a new order for providing foreign currency to the departees was established by the Ministry of Finance. Restrictions for temporary travel to capitalist and developing countries for the purpose of meeting with distant relatives and acquaintances were revoked. And this is not all. The regulations for inviting foreigners into our country were significantly simplified. Today the simplifications in the procedure of formal registration of documents for reciprocal trips have been introduced everywhere, i.e., in all territories of the Soviet Union. It should be noted that departure for a temporary stay in countries of the socialist brotherhood, with whom bilateral resolutions and agreements on this question have been concluded, has recently received especially extensive development from us. Presenting a character reference from the place of work or study and the agreement of the Party, Komsomol, and trade union organs, which has been necessary until recently, has been abolished. And this is not only for personal business but also when one receives an invitation to visit from abroad. And this is not all. When one leaves for a temporary residence in any country, the consent of the husband or wife is henceforth not required. There is yet one more innovation. Today at the time of departure by invitation it is not compulsory to show the degree of relationship, which may be simply an acquaintance. Likewise permitted are trips of relatives to visit employees of Soviet embassies, trade representations, and various international and world organizations.

If the work of our department is analyzed, says Temur Sanadze, then for the past two years the following picture appears: by comparison with 1986, at the end of last year three times as many inhabitants of our republic left to go to capitalist countries for temporary stays by invitation of relatives, friends, and comrades. The number of those departing on personal business to countries of the socialist brotherhood has significantly risen. Here the number of those going off has grown five times.

It should be noted that a definite role was played by the circumstance of the Tbilisi airport becoming an international airport. Beginning from May to October (inclusive), inhabitants of Georgia may depart for Prague, Varna, Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and Sofia without any impediments. And if we recount in more detail the departure of our citizens to capitalist countries, then I want first of all to concentrate here more attention on the state of Israel. In spite of the fact that at present the Soviet Union does not have diplomatic relations with this country, and only a consulate group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR works in Tel Aviv, inhabitants of our republic, beginning in 1988, have the opportunity to regularly visit their relatives and friends, i.e., to go there for a temporary stay. The warming of the international climate is expressed not only in this way. The working people in our republic have the opportunity

to freely go to such countries as Greece, France, West Germany and the US by invitation of their relatives and friends. In 1988, for example, more than a thousand inhabitants of our republic went to Israel for temporary stays, and to Greece the number was twice as large as the number who went in 1986; three times the number to France; six times as many to West Germany; and 12 times as many to the US. Of the countries of the socialist brotherhood, they went most of all to Czechoslovakia on temporary residence. In the last year, for example, 11,017 people visited Czechoslovakia; 2,564 visited Poland; 2,343 visited the GDR; and 1,161 visited Hungary.

In its own turn, the number of those foreign citizens who come to visit us by invitation has increased.

In 1988 the number of people coming from the countries of the socialist brotherhood on temporary residence increased six times in comparison with 1986, then those from capitalist countries increased 7 times in the corresponding period. Altogether in 1988, 1,507 persons visited Georgia, coming in to us from capitalist countries by invitation. If in 1986 only one person from the US came to us, last year we took in 97 American guests. We also process the documents for the departures of those citizens of our republic who, for personal reasons go abroad on permanent residence. Application for exit for permanent residence abroad is considered by us in the case of an invitation from the father, mother, husband, wife, daughter, son, or cousins.

I want to direct your attention to the following. Today a considerable number of citizens who are Soviet nationals are living permanently in capitalist countries and in developing countries. Previously, for these people to come into the motherland, an official invitation from close relatives was required. Henceforth this order is canceled. Today it is sufficient for them to apply at a Soviet embassy or consulate with a request to go to the motherland and it will be complied with immediately.

At present new legislation and standard documents are being developed in our country which will give an even greater opportunity to improve the exit procedure from the USSR for Soviet citizens and the entry of foreigners into our country. And all this, in its own turn, will allow Soviet citizens to broaden their contacts with foreigners on a personal basis, and will be conducive to a more healthy international climate on the whole.

#### **Uighur Migration To Soviet Union Described** 18330013c

[Editorial Report] Frunze SOVETIK KYRGYZSTAN in Kirghiz on 21 January 1989 carries on page 3 a number of articles on Uighur life in Kirghizia, including an interview with Professor Aziz Narynbayev on the migration of Uighurs from China to the USSR in which he stresses the need for Uighur children to learn their own language, literature and history. He notes that "in



the 1950s the process of 'communalizing' villages in the Uighur Autonomous Region in Sinkiang began, and in September and October of 1958 cooperatives were reorganized into communes." One consequence of this policy was that "hundreds of thousands" died from starvation; at the same time, local Uighur cadres were "accused of nationalism" or "subjected to repression. Under such severe, terrifying conditions more than 20 thousand Uighurs crossed into the Soviet Union." Narynbayev praises the perestroika process and, in light of it, suggests that "it would be good if Uighur language, literature and history were to be taught to Uighur students" concentrated near Frunze. He adds that "since Uighur children are unable to read Uighur literature and history which has been written in the Arabic script for close to a thousand years, they must also be taught the Arabic script."

**Azeri Criticizes Iran, Cites Iran Peoples Party Appeals To UN**  
18310021k

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 20 January 1989 carries on page 8 a 500 word article by Rovshan Valiyev headlined "Crime" on the executions of "thousands" of Iranian Azeris for "violating Islamic law", "being a Tudeh member" and other charges. He describes the current Iranian situation as one of "panic, conflicts among religious leaders, distrust, postwar economic difficulties, hunger, unemployment and poverty. This is the scene in modern Iran—one of national slaughter and bloody crimes. In this context the Iran Peoples Party, representing nationalities and peoples living in Iran, has appealed to the United Nations and Human Rights Committee for help in freeing the thousands of people who are facing death."

**Turnover Tax Inequities Highlighted**  
18310021f

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 24 January 1989 carries on pp 1, 2 a 2300 word article by A. Zargarov headlined "International Relations and the

Economy" in which, while not arguing in favor of decentralizing the economic system, he does point out inequities within the existing system, primarily with regard to the turnover tax. Because in many cases Azerbaijan's raw materials are converted into end products in other republics, he points out that "under conditions of self-financing and khozraschet this reduces republic interest in increasing production and guaranteeing stable consumer relations. Thus, we must establish an economically rational rule of dividing the turnover tax between raw material producers and end product producers." He also proposes the establishment of an academic institute for the "economics of national and international relations."

**Economist Urges End to Product Control**  
18310021g

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 29 January 1989 carries on pp 1, 2 a 3700 word article by Tofig Guliyev headlined "Balancing the Interests of Internationalism." While he claims that "the economic sovereignty of a republic does not sound bad at first glance", he points out that "instead of serving economic interests and the rapprochement of nationalities, it creates additional tensions." A serious problem, however, occurs when raw materials are sent from Azerbaijan to another republic for final processing; when this happens, the republic supplying the raw materials loses in terms of national income. He adds that "what we win and what we lose in the import of any product must be clarified. According to the difference between imports and exports, the republic loses up to 2.5 billion rubles." He claims that "national income created on the territory of the AzSSR is sold in other republics as an end product, and the income from this is included in those republics' budgets. Thus our republic, by sending out raw materials for final production, remains in an unprofitable situation. From this point of view, we are not losing 2.5 billion rubles a year, but 10 billion." As illustrations, he cites examples from the export of raw cotton and grapes to other republics for end processing.

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